DECEMBER 3, 1990 49145 $2.95

CAN BUSH RECOVER?

Red Generals—Remembering the Cold War

Vol. 42 No. 23

# NATIONAL REVIEW

RECEIVED NOV 28

## RAINING IN THEIR HEARTS

*Why the Doomsayers Get It Wrong*

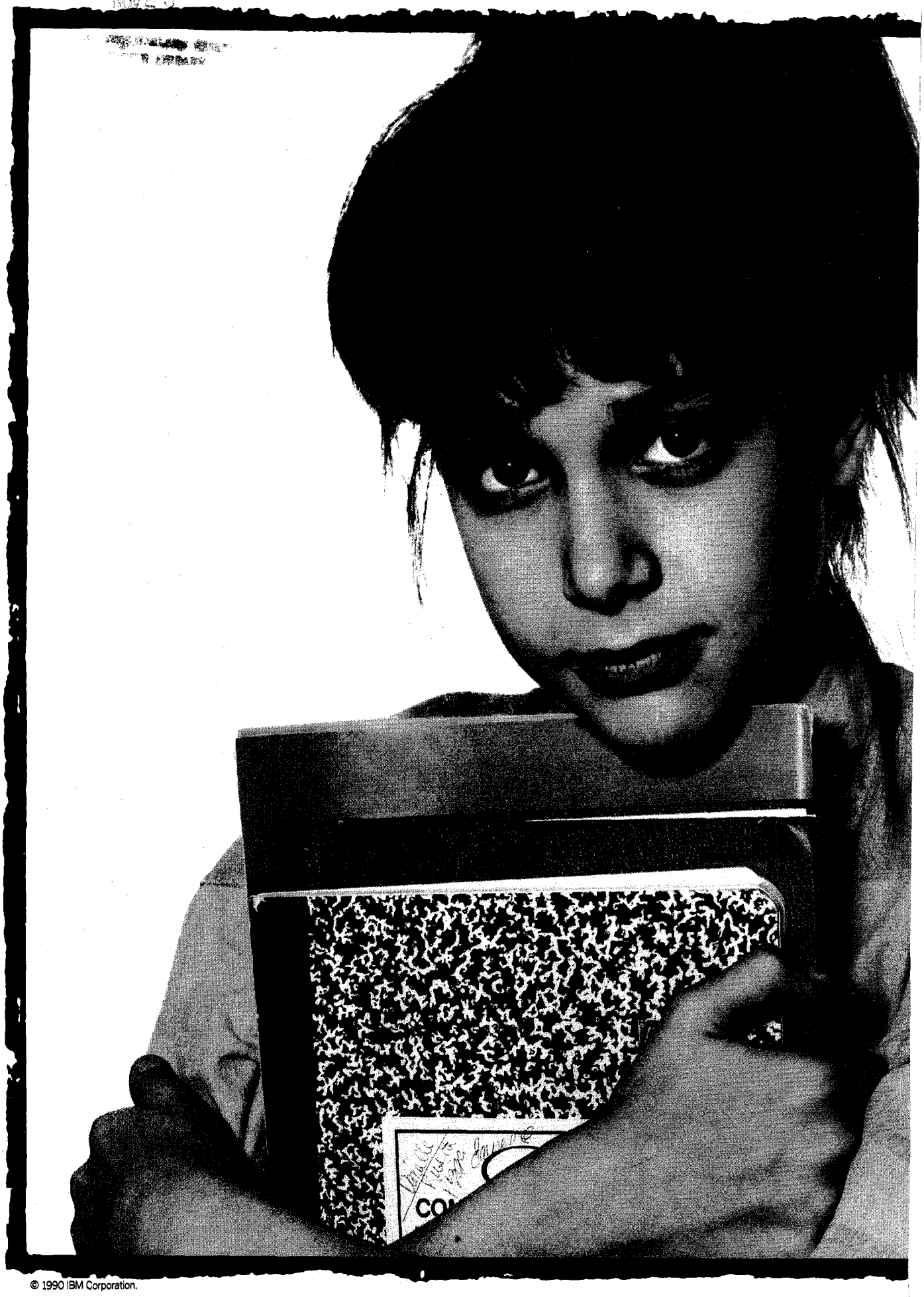
## JEFFERSON v. HAMILTON ON THE GULF

## IS GOD A GIRL?

*page 46*

585 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



© 1990 IBM Corporation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# "Grown-ups tell us, 'Just say no.' That's easy for them to say."

*"Maybe they forgot what it's like.*

*"At parties, at school, kids are saying to try this or do that, and they're my friends. I mean how many times can I hear I'm a loser.*

*"Sure I'm scared of drugs. It's just there's so much pressure. You want to say no. But you can take a lot of heat for it."*

Simple yes-no decisions aren't so simple when they involve kids and drugs.

That's why IBM has helped develop a computer-based, interactive video program that's now in schools. It simulates realistic social situations, and allows kids to make choices—about drugs, about alcohol, about themselves—and to experience the consequences, but without getting hurt.

The program is sponsored by the National Federation of State High School Associations, and preliminary results have been extremely encouraging. To learn more about this program, write to us at IBM, P.O. Box 3974, Dept. 973, Peoria, IL 61614.

IBM®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# NATIONAL REVIEW

DECEMBER 3, 1990 VOL. XLII, NO. 23


## Cover Story


32 ***The Apocalyse Boosters***
**Ronald Bailey** explains how to make people fear technology and support eco-fascism: false predictions. **Bruce N. Ames** debunks the hysteria over chemicals and cancer.


## Articles


24 ***On the Scene***
**William McGurn** spends election night with Ed Rollins, the man who told GOP candidates to run away from the President. . . . **Radek Sikorski** chats with an uncomfortable democrat: the new head of Poland's secret police. . . . On the departure of the last member of Mrs. Thatcher's original cabinet, **Anthony Lejeune** examines the prime minister in dark days. . . . **Alistair Horne** relishes the chance to talk revisionism with the Soviet military elite.

37 ***Deconstructing David Souter***
The newest Justice pleased all the wrong people at his confirmation hearings—but he may have let them fool themselves. **Terry Eastland** looks at the record to see where Souter fits.

39 ***BERD Is the Word***
**Robert W. Kasten Jr.** warns that current U.S. policy will save Eastern Europe for Eurosocialism—and presents a better way.

40 ***Is the Gulf America's Business?***
With an assist from **Maurice Cranston**, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson debate whether the nation they helped found should be the defender, or just the friend, of liberty everywhere. **John P. Roche** places the crisis in the context of America's pre-cold-war foreign policy.

44 ***Iacocca Broke***
The Chrysler head won success and fame through federal bailouts and Japan-bashing, but **Tucker Goodrich** discovers Lee Iacocca stumbling into a most embarrassing embrace.


## Books, Arts & Manners


46 **Carol Iannone** marvels at Harold Bloom's self-congratulatory Biblical revisionism in *The Book of J*. . . . Samuel Lipman wins **Terry Teachout**'s praises for contagious critical enthusiams and ruthless dissections of the music establishment in *Arguing for Music, Arguing for Culture*. . . . **Adam B. Ulam** suggests that the new Soviet history, objectively and succinctly summarized by Walter Laqueur in *Stalin: The Glasnost Revelations*, is a greater threat to the Party than even the economic crisis. . . . Why do intellectuals love tyrants? **Ronald Radosh** reflects on Guenter Lewy's history of Communism, anti-Communism, and anti-anti-Communism in America. . . . With *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*, historian Donald Kagan has made the wonders of Classical Athens accessible to the layman, says **James Gardner**. . . . New tortures for **John Simon**: *Miller's Crossing*, in which the tail of the camera waves a dog of a film, and *Henry & June*, which ought to be rated "no IQ over 17." . . . **Eva Resnikova** decides that the wildest exhibit at the Brooklyn Academy of Music's Next Wave Festival is the avante-garde administrators. . . . In Liège, **R. J. Stove** celebrates the rebirth of the lyrical world of composer César Franck.


## Sections


4 ***Letters***
8 ***From the Editor***
10 ***On the Record***
12 ***The Week***
30 ***Help***
52 ***Right Books***
61 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***
64 ***Off the Record***


***Cover illustration by John Paul Genzo***


The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.


©National Review, Inc., 1990.


Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471; phone, 800-222-6806, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display and classified advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

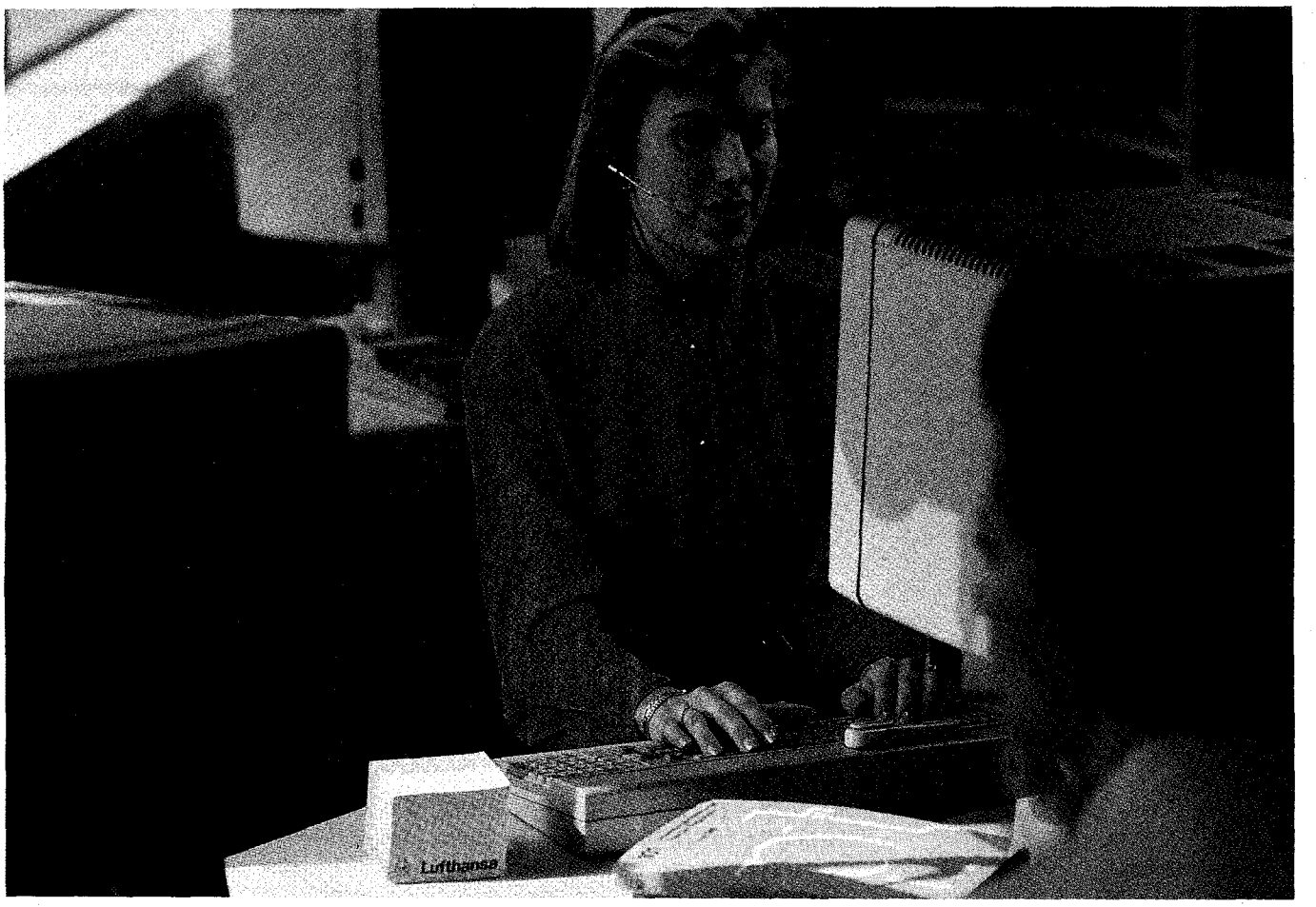
*RATES: $74.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.*





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# She'll get you from Sydney to Bangkok to Budapest. And even help you pack.




Linda has been known to go out of her way when she makes a reservation. She not only gets you from point A to point B, she can also point out the weather, and if you'll need a sweater for cool nights or shorts for balmy days. Or she might advise you to pack something formal for that four-star restaurant in Milan. Now, we don't always expect Linda to go this far. She does it because she wants to make your trip memorable. It's a desire shared by everyone at Lufthansa. We like to think of it as a passion. One you feel at 30,000 feet or before you even leave the ground.
A passion for perfection that ensures you the best flying experience possible.

A passion for perfection.℠

**Lufthansa**

Lufthansa is a participant in the mileage programs of United, Delta, USAir and Continental/Eastern. See your Travel Agent for details.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS

### *Deals and Dealers*

Over the years, I have had a great deal of respect for NATIONAL REVIEW. As a fellow conservative, I view your magazine as a compatriot in battling liberal Democrats through the "war of ideas."

I am concerned, however, about an inaccuracy that recently appeared in "Off the Record" [Oct. 15] claiming that I was "cutting a deal with Democrats" to protect all incumbents following the 1992 reapportionment process. That assessment is not only inaccurate, it is absolutely absurd. As you know, California holds the key to a Republican majority in the House in the 1990s. When Pete Wilson becomes governor, our party will be poised to claim ten to 12 additional congressional seats and a solid majority in our 52-member California delegation.

My press secretary, a very conservative Hillsdale graduate, did speak with Jack Fowler of your Washington office who inquired about, but apparently failed to register, my position on reapportionment. That fact alone indicates that someone on your staff is engaging in "journalism by innuendo," a practice that does not reflect the professionalism that readers expect from NATIONAL REVIEW.

My door is always open to other conservatives to discuss our goal of a Republican majority. Thanks for allowing me to set the record straight.

*Jerry Lewis*
*Chairman*
*House Republican Conference*
*Washington, D.C.*

*CATO agrees with Congressman Lewis that California holds the key to a GOP majority in the House in 1992, which is why the congressman's actions are so troubling. According to a September 3* Los Angeles Times *article on the 1992 reapportionment, "Some lawmakers, such as Representative Jerry Lewis, . . . say that a deal with the Democrats that protects incumbents and gives the GOP four of the [seven new congressional] seats might be acceptable. . . . Lewis, who prides himself on being able to work with the Democratic majority, says the key to an agreement is an intelligent approach that is 'flexible enough to recognize we're not going to win the whole ballgame' and seeks 'a chance for both sides to win.'"*

*The congressman's press secretary said that despite the quotations the article did not represent Lewis's viewpoint—news to* Times *reporter Alan Miller, who says Lewis's position was not misrepresented and that he spoke to the congressman at some length about deal-making. Congressman Lewis's actions here were also the subject of complaints by various Hill staffers, which was the genesis of this story.*

*Finally, while CATO welcomes anyone who feels himself to be a "fellow conservative" we note that the congressman's votes for such things as increased NEA funding, congressional pay raises, the budget-summit deal (which involved breaking his no-new-taxes pledge) have recently earned him the worst rating on the pork index—"hostile"—by Citizens Against Government Waste.* — CATO

### *A Renaissance Man*

Family feuds, whatever their roots, militate against good journalism, especially when the parties involved don't acknowledge their consanguinity. L. Gordon Crovitz, author of "Michael Milken and His Enemies" [Oct. 1], singles out Ben Stein for criticism as one of Milken's primary and most implacable antagonists, motivated, it is implied, by Michael Milken's failure to take him up on a consulting proposal. Who is this Stein? According to Mr. Crovitz, he's "a former Nixon speechwriter turned novelist and Hollywood's favorite nasal-voiced character actor." In short, a rather diletantish sort of fellow of no real consequence, and somewhat unsavory to boot, who "has probably written more articles critical of Mr. Milken, beginning in 1985, than any other writer."

© Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

*"I don't remember the exact date of birth, but I know gas was $1.20."*

What's wrong with all this? First, the résumé and its rather peculiar gaps. Stein was indeed a Nixon speechwriter, then, as now, highly respected for his integrity, loyalty, and strong sense of personal honor. Since then he has written both novels and works of non-fiction. One of these, *Dreemz*, is a splendid autobiography taught today in a number of contemporary literature courses. Also, in addition to screenplays and a flood of magazine articles, reviews, and columns, he has, as Crovitz points out, written extensively on the Milken affair.

Mr. Crovitz forgets to tell us much of this. In short, between the White House years, the novel-writing years, and the nasal-voiced acting years, Stein—who is also a lawyer and economist—has turned in what is generally acknowledged to be some of the best financial and economic reporting of the past decade.

No doubt Mr. Crovitz can explain why he chose totally to ignore this. But in the meantime, Mr. Crovitz, meet Mr. Stein.

*John R. Coyne Jr.*
*Chicago, Ill.*

### *Color Me Hot*

You colored red the reactions to the changes in Crayola crayons ["The Week," Oct. 15]. We can all cool down, because we've not lost those colors. Ellyn Scott, of Binney & Smith, reassures me the recently retired eight colors are the first residents of the Crayola Hall of Fame, installed in a special ceremony, August 7, in Easton, Pennsylvania.

Historical review of Crayola's colors reveals other changes. The first name change came at the urging of teachers in 1958 when Prussian blue became midnight blue. That same year saw the color spectrum expand from 48 to 64 (from which two colors are now enshrined, blue gray and raw umber). Then, at the manufacturer's discretion, flesh became peach in 1962 in recognition of the civil-rights movement. The addition of eight fluorescent colors in 1972 provides the current 72 crayons, of which 16 colors are renamed for younger children as So Big Crayons, e.g., kitty-cat black and sea-serpent green.

Aside from the names, the colors



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

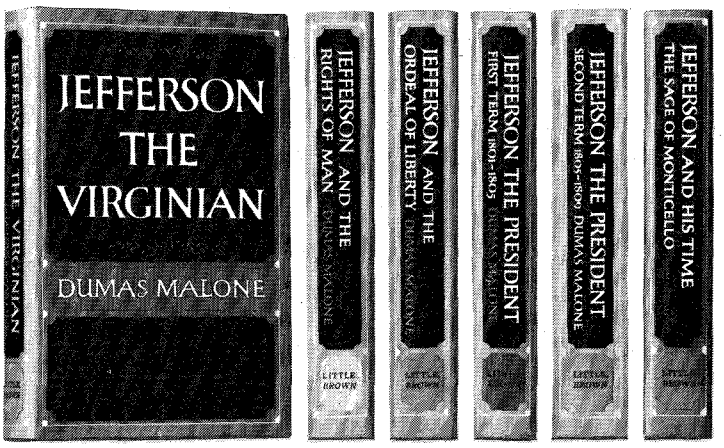
# Priceless collections. Big savings.

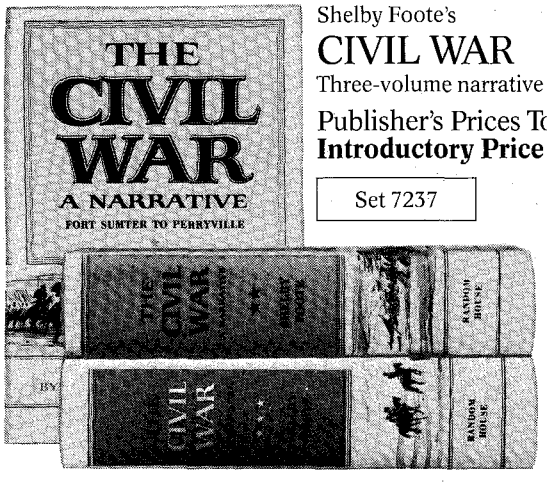
**With no risk, no commitment.**

Dumas Malone's
## JEFFERSON
Six-volume biography

Publisher's Prices Total $165
**Introductory Price $14**

Set 8078

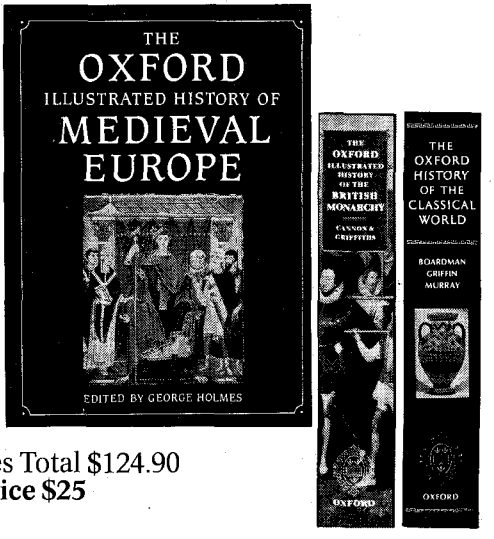



Shelby Foote's
## CIVIL WAR
Three-volume narrative

Publisher's Prices Total $55
**Introductory Price $15**

Set 7237


THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE
EDITED BY GEORGE HOLMES
THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE BRITISH MONARCHY
THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD
BOARDMAN GRIFFIN MURRAY
OXFORD

## OXFORD HISTORY LIBRARY
Three-volume reference

Publisher's Prices Total $124.90
**Introductory Price $25**

Set 1602

Landmark works. Hailed by readers, historians and critics alike.

No matter what area of history you enjoy reading about most, you'll find that History Book Club offers some of the finest selections being published today. And no book club we know offers greater savings–as much as 30% off publishers' list prices.

**Your commitment? There is none.** Through this special Introductory Offer, you can try History Book Club with no risk, no commitment. You may cancel membership at any time by notifying History Book Club. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period.

**Save as much as 30% with low Members' Prices.** You'll enjoy significant savings off the publisher's price on each selection you make from the 150-200 volumes featured in the History Book Club *Review*, along with the new main title, the "Editors' Choice." History Book Club always offers its members well-made, long-lasting editions.

**How the Club works.** You'll receive our *Review* and a dated Reply Form 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks), plus up to 4 more offers of special selections. If you want the "Editors' Choice," do nothing. If you want another book, or no books at all, return the Reply Form by the date specified. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

**Your HBC guarantee:** If you receive an unwanted "Editors' Choice" because you had fewer than 10 days to decide, simply return it and pay nothing.

Try History Book Club–and save! Return the attached coupon today.

**History Book Club®**
Camp Hill, PA 17012-8805

Please enroll me in History Book Club according to the no-risk, no-commitment terms outlined in the accompanying ad. Send me the multivolume set whose number I have entered in the space below. Bill me at the low Introductory Price, plus shipping and handling.

**H123-12-1**

Set Selection ____
**0-66**

Name_____

Address_____ Apt. #_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

©1990 History Book Club, Inc. All orders subject to approval. Prices generally higher in Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

themselves move toward the hot, away from the cool. In hue there is a shift away from yellow toward red, and a small expansion of green. At the same time, consistent with past color changes, the color values shift toward the apexes of the color pyramid, black and white, and away from the neutral grays.

Crayola's changes should be recommended for two reasons. Strong colors are better, especially for children. The new names, too, are poetic inducements for children to wonder—even the redundancy of royal purple. (Now, when does white become ermine.)

*Philip N. Marcus*
*Fairfield, Conn.*

### *Please, No More Cards*

With thanks to Joe Deary of Philadelphia for his thoughtfulness [Notes & Asides," Oct. 15]. I must recommend to *NR* loyalists *not* to send get-well cards to young Craig Shergold of England. It is true that he wished to get into the *Guinness Book of Records* for receiving the greatest number of cards. However, it is also true that he did this against the Guinness organization's recommendation that such efforts, once begun, become nearly impossible to stop.

When our office discovered that the same request for cards was wending its way through the Capitol's corridors, I checked with Guinness on the status of this effort. The official count ended last May, when Craig was certified to have broken the prior record of one million cards by having then received 16¼ million of his own. Unfortunately, the word of his effort is still gaining momentum, as computer networks, leading publications, corporate newsletters, and charitable organizations take up the cause. I suspect that this may not be brought to a halt for years—much as the rumor that Madalyn Murray O'Hair is trying to have the FCC ban religious broadcasting. The FCC has been trying to quash that rumor for at least 15 years, and yet petitions to save religious broadcasting continue to hit the FCC several times a year.

We are trying to stop the spread of this sincere but unnecessary act of kindness on the Hill, although it is very difficult to get the attention of tax addicts during their current feeding frenzy.

*Mike Bonk*
*Senior Staff Assistant*
*William E. Dannemeyer*
*Member of Congress*
*Washington, D.C.*

### *Proportions and Distortions*

I backtracked the estimated GNP and its projected growth, according to the table in "The Deficit (Non-) Problem" ["Right Data," "The Week," Oct. 15]. The projected 6.6 per cent growth in GNP for 1991, and 6.5 per cent for 1992, are outlandish. Given those figures, who would say anything about a recession? As I remember only the governments of North Korea and Albania make such optimistic GNP growth promises to their people.

The other thing that caught my attention was Robert Eisner's savings-and-loan bailout theory. I always thought the S&L crisis was caused by one of the fundamental economic laws, the law of supply and demand, influencing the real-estate prices. Printing more money seems like a great idea. It would override all those uncomfortable economic laws. Maybe we could pay workers in other depressed industries with the new money; reimburse investors for losses or unrealized profits; pay for crude oil; and repay our foreign debts. Perhaps the convertibility of the dollar would suffer a little, but then who's worried about convertibility?

*Miro Vadovic*
*Parkesburg, Pa.*

*Nominal GNP growth of 6.5 per cent translates to real growth of only 0.5 per cent at current inflation rates. No Albanian or North Korean bureaucrat valuing his life would forecast growth that low.*

*All deficits are not created equal, according to Robert Eisner. Federal borrowing to finance the S&L bailout will have none of the deleterious effects on credit markets that borrowing for, say, military operations or entitlement programs does, according to Eisner. In bailing out S&Ls the government is not commanding new resources or expanding those of private individuals. The bailouts merely keep depositors from losing their money, i.e., prevent the money supply from shrinking. This isn't to say that the S&L debacle hasn't hurt the economy: the fraud, bad loans, and high living diverted scarce resources from their most productive use. But raising taxes to pay for these losses will only make things worse.* —ER

### *Oops!*

Due to a production error, a line of text was dropped from Christopher Caldwell's review of John McPhee's *Looking for a Ship* ["Books, Arts & Manners," Nov. 19]. The first line on page fifty should have read: "There's an oppressive Ivy League-ish-"

We apologize for any inconvenience it may have caused.

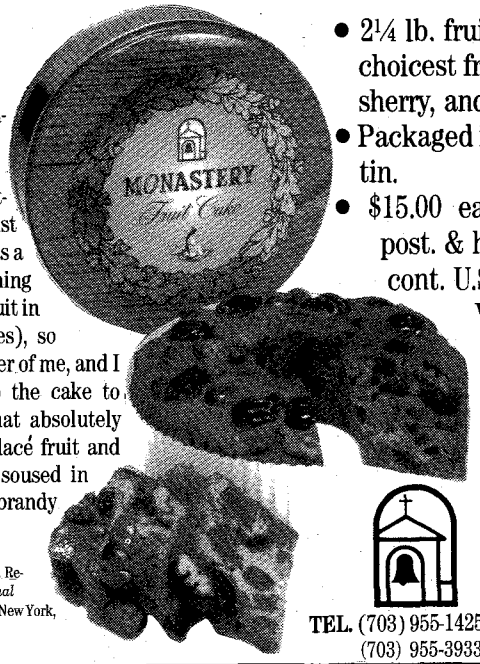

# MONASTERY FRUITCAKE

## *A Special Gift*... Unduplicated In The Bakery Profession (Even by Grandmother)

**NIKA HAZELTON**
**DELECTATIONS**

One of the things I enjoyed most at Christmas this year was a simply wonderful fruitcake, made by Trappist monks in Virginia. It has a world of fruit in it (nothing like the all-too-scant fruit in most commerical cakes), so that greed got the better of me, and I kept stealing back to the cake to sink my teeth into that absolutely heavenly mixture of glacé fruit and nuts, with everything soused in brandy (and very good brandy too) . . .

National Review, January 22, 1990. Reprinted by permission of *National Review*, Inc., 150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016.

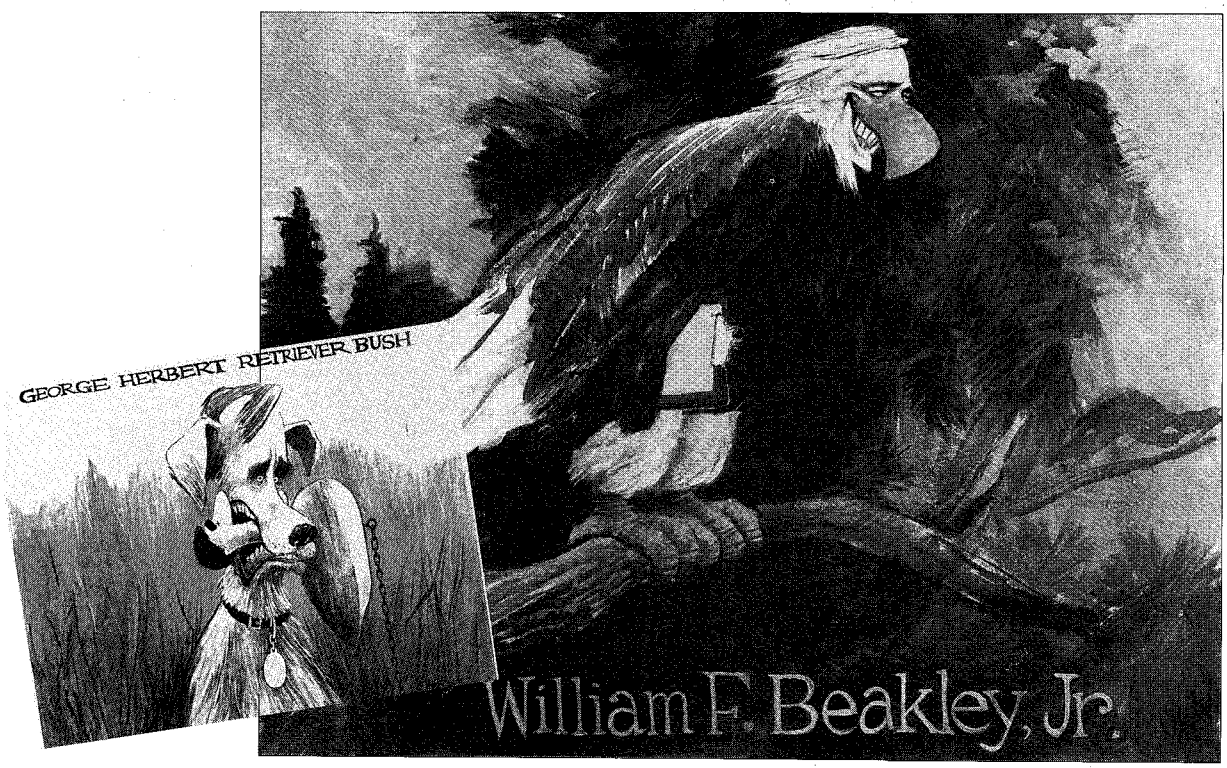



- 2¼ lb. fruitcake made of choicest fruits, nutmeats, sherry, and brandy.
- Packaged in a special gift tin.
- $15.00 each plus $3.50 post. & handl. (Outside cont. U.S., addtl. post.) VA res. add 68¢ tax, **VISA, MC or CHECK.**

Call, write or FAX:
**Monastery Bakery**
Holy Cross Abbey
Route 2, Box 3870-N
Berryville, VA 22611
**TEL.** (703) 955-1425 **FAX** (703) 955-4006
(703) 955-3933

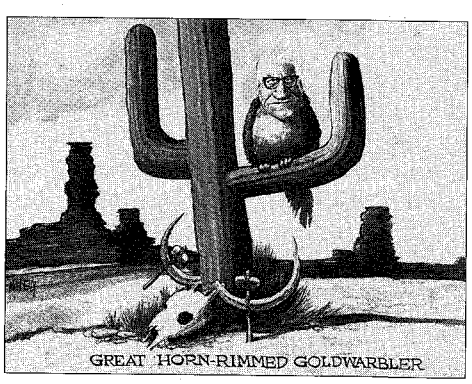



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# Enjoy the Lighter Side of Politics All Year Long.

## The *1991 National Review Calendar* featuring 13 original full-color cartoons by renowned political cartoonist Jeff MacNelly.




For years you've enjoyed the scathing humor of Jeff MacNelly in the pages of ***National Review***. Now the most prominent figures in global politics cannot escape his pointed brush.

Conservative favorites like Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Barry Goldwater and our own William F, Buckley Jr.

And we didn't forget those politicians you love to hate — Fidel Castro, Jesse Jackson and Mario Cuomo. Plus, a few surprises!

For this special offer to our readers, ***National Review*** commissioned Jeff to do thirteen completely original full-color cartoons.

Each cartoon is carefully reproduced in color and all are suitable for framing. The calendar is full size (10"x12") with enough space to jot down your appointments and special events. Plus, the wit and humor make it fun to display and appreciate all year long.

The special edition of the ***1991 National Review Calendar*** is yours for only $13.95 (plus $1.50 postage and handling).

Don't delay…the supplies are limited. These cartoons are the exclusive property of ***National Review*** and can't be found anywhere else.

Order right now and get ready for the New Year the *right* way…with a hearty smile.

☐ **Yes**, please send me _____ ***1991 National Review Calendar(s)*** featuring 13 original Jeff MacNelly cartoons for only $13.95 each (plus $1.50 postage and handling).
☐ Payment enclosed (check or m.o.)
☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

card # _____

exp. date _____

signature _____

**send calendar to (please print):**

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Mail with your payment to:
**National Review 1991 Calendar**
**150 East 35th Street**
**New York, NY 10016**

***Order your 1991 National Review Calendar today...***

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

John O'Sullivan *Editor*
Wick Allison *Publisher*

*Senior Editors*
Richard Brookhiser / Priscilla L. Buckley
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Brad Miner *Literary Editor*
William McGurn *Washington Bureau Chief*
Paul Hebert *Art Director*
Mark Cunningham *Assistant Articles Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Assistant Managing Editor*
Matthew Scully *Assistant Literary Editor*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Jack Fowler *Congressional Reporter*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
*Editorial Associates*
Jane Buckley Smith / G. Allen Randolph
*Editorial Services*
Michael Ashton / Mary Edson
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
*Research Assistants*
Micheal Flaherty / Russell Jenkins
Josie Salcedo
*Contributing Editors*
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Nika Hazelton
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Edward A. Capano *Associate Publisher*
Robert F. Sennott Jr. *Advertising Director*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*
Daniel T. Merritt *Marketing Director*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Sylvia Wolinsky *Circulation Director*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Lisa Nelson *Special Projects Director*
Dorian Robbins *Assistant to the Publisher*
*Business Services*
Charles Hernandez / Kevin Longstreet
Jerry Pellecchia / Alison Schmertz

*Contributors*
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
Christopher Buckley / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Frank J. Gaffney Jr. / James Gardner
George Gilder / Victor Gold
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.
Chilton Williamson Jr.
*Foreign Contributors*
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

## FROM THE EDITOR

# Signals That Cross in the Night

■ Once a threat to invade, especially one backed by two hundred thousand troops, would have signalled a likely invasion. The potential victim would then have either compromised, surrendered, or prepared to resist. Everyone knew where they were.

Then arose the idea of strategic deception: military threats to encourage a diplomatic solution, pacific overtures to disguise an imminent attack. The problem is that strategic deception requires a trusting audience.

But it creates a knowing audience—and is consequently stymied. We eventually achieve the sophistication of 1930s diplomats who used to say of the French foreign ministry: "It must be true. The Quai d'Orsay denies it."

Once they know that we are lying, and we know they know, we can achieve surprise only by telling the truth. In time even that tactic loses its value. Diplomacy becomes like modern literary criticism, a surrealist wilderness of arbitrary interpretations, in which diplomats desperately deconstruct each other's messages.

And here I admit a certain sympathy for Saddam Hussein as he strives to interpret the speeches of President Bush. How do you deconstruct what is already deconstructed?

Mr. Bush is the Gertrude Stein of diplomacy, a dazzling master of incoherence, who one day threatens war, the next peace, all the time insisting that he is saying the same thing. Mixed signals, scrambled syntax, all the latest literary devices are there.

Alas, the audience in Baghdad seems stuck at the Zane Grey stage of literary sensibility. Mr. Bush will have to resort to that more primitive genre which Raymond Chandler described thus: "When in doubt, have a man come through a door with a gun in his hand."

That's semiotics!

■ "Race," said the newspapers and networks, was dragged into North Carolina's election by Jesse Helms. The *Washington Post*, for instance, headlined its account: "Helms Injects Race Issue into Carolina Campaign."

His TV spot, the basis of all this journalistic outrage, showed a pair of white hands crumpling a job application while a voice-over intoned the following lines: "You needed that job and you were the best qualified. But they had to give it to a minority because of a racial quota. Is that fair?"

No, it isn't. But it is a perfectly fair description of affirmative action. Affirmative action is the only institutionalized racism in the U.S.—though there is a deal of the informal sort.

Liberals naturally resent anyone drawing attention to the fact that they have made racial discrimination an official policy and even a legal requirement. Their outrage is as misplaced as if Bull Connor had objected that the "freedom riders" were dragging race into Southern politics.

■ Taki Theodoracopulos, the celebrated society writer who got his start in a gentler fashion as NATIONAL REVIEW's Vietnam correspondent, recently gave a splendid ball in London to mark the collapse of Communism. Among those present were Miss Joan Collins, Count Nikolai Tolstoy, Herr Claus von Bulow, but not alas the late Sir Noel Coward who otherwise might have written something like:

*I went to a marvelous party*
*To cheer the collapse of the East*
*It was in the Savoy,*
*And the mere hoi polloi*
*Were excluded—in theory at least.*
*There wasn't a sign of Walesa.*
*He must have forgotten the date.*
*But Freddy (whom no one could say is a Red;*
*Well-bred is his motto, or is it well-fed?)*
*Sang "God Save the Queen" while he stood on his head.*
*I couldn't have liked it more.*

The full song is available, price: $5 and a legal guarantee against libel action. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE OFFICIAL MILITARY ISSUE GENUINE LEATHER A-2 FLYING JACKET

### *A Piece of American History.*

The A-2 Leather Flying Jacket is one of the most famous pieces of battle gear in history. During World War II, the brave pilots of the U.S. Army Air Forces relied on the A-2 for protection and comfort. Worn by the daring "Flying Tigers" who fought over China in their P-40 Warhawks. And Jimmy Doolittle's B-25 bomber squadron that hit Tokyo in a daring carrier-launched raid. Lightweight and comfortable yet "tough as nails," the A-2 identified its wearer as one of an elite, brave breed of fighting men.

### *Genuine Military Issue. Not a Commercial Reproduction.*

Cooper Sportswear was an original supplier of the A-2's worn by America's World War II flying heroes. Now, after a 45-year retirement from active duty, the U.S. Air Force has recommissioned the A-2 and selected Cooper as the official Government contract manufacturer. Now, you can own the *very same* jacket issued to U.S. Air Force pilots.

*Not a reproduction—this is the genuine article!*

### *Proudly Made in the U.S.A.*

The Cooper A-2 is made in the U.S.A. using materials and production methods specified by the U.S. Air Force. Premium hand stitched goatskin ensures ruggedness and great looks. Knitted cuffs and waist band and a spun cotton-blend lining ensure draft-free comfort. Details include regulation snap-down collar, shoulder epaulets, and roomy snap-close pockets. You'll also receive a certificate of authenticity stating that yours is *the* U.S. Air Force A-2. Battle-proven and built for long life, the Cooper A-2 actually gets better-looking with age.

MADE IN U.S.A.

### *Payable in Convenient Monthly Installments.*

The Cooper A-2 Leather Flying Jacket can be yours for just $249 (plus $7.50 shipping and handling) payable in six convenient monthly installments of $42.75 charged to your credit card. Satisfaction guaranteed. If you are not delighted with your jacket, simply return it in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund.

*The actual jacket supplied to the United States Air Force*

Order today. Available in even sizes 34-52 regular and long. Call about larger sizes (to 60) available for $50 more. (For best fit, order one size larger than your normal jacket size.)

Normal delivery on phone orders 4-8 business days.

**CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-331-1858**

© 1990 MBI

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

WILLABEE & WARD W&W

Satisfaction Guaranteed

**CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-331-1858**

Please send me____Cooper A-2 Genuine Leather Flying Jackets.
Size (Even sizes 34-52):_____ ☐ Regular ☐ Long

Charge each of 6 installments of $42.75* to my credit card.
☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA ☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date

Name_____ (PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY)

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

Signature_____ (ALL ORDERS SUBJECT TO ACCEPTANCE)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for $249 plus $7.50 shipping/handling, a total of $256.50*.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

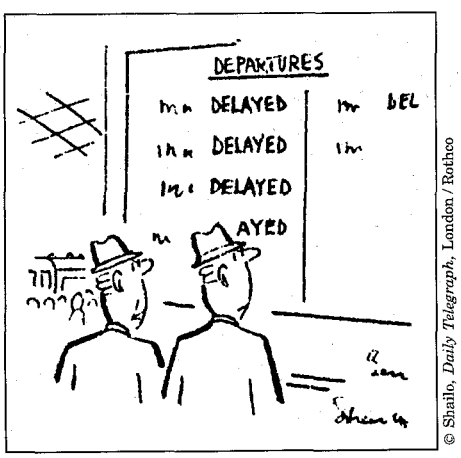
606-344

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ON THE RECORD

■ What got kicked in the keyster November 6? Answer: Radical chic '90. Hollywood/TV libs gave their all to two major crusades: to beat **Jesse Helms**, and to pass Big Green, California's Proposition 128. They struck out on both. Supporting Helms's opponent **Harvey Gantt** in person and with cash were: **Bill Cosby**, **Paul Newman & Joanne Woodward**, **Gregory Peck**, **Norman Lear**, **Christopher Reeve**, among many others. And **Robin Williams**, whose tasteful contribution included calling Senator Helms a "brain-dead bastard." Every major paper in North Carolina endorsed Gantt, who wound up trailing Helms by six percentage points. Helms made a belated appearance at campaign headquarters election night, explaining: "I'm late because I've been watching the grieving face of **Dan Rather**." . . . Norman Lear was also a major financial supporter ($16,000) of **Tom Hayden**'s Big Green, as were **Olivia Newton-John**, **Neil Simon**, **Herb Alpert**, **Jeff Bridges**, **Danny DeVito**. **Meryl Streep**'s Mothers and Others for a Livable Planet helped raise $150,000 to promote Proposition 128. But it was not to be, as the *Wall Street Journal* commented, "[in California] Haydenites, Hollywood, and the hacks woke up in the political intensive-care ward on Wednesday."

■ In Massachusetts, the man **John Silber** tagged as the "orange-headed WASP," **William Weld**, became the first Republican governor since the early Seventies, largely because Silber scared off Democrats at the end and because Weld's espousal of a tax rollback, which Silber opposed, hit a chord in Taxachusetts. Some 33 per cent of Massachusetts liberal Democrats voted for Weld, who also earned the endorsement of the liberal *Boston Globe*. . . . Silber, who won nomination by knocking Democratic regulars off the ticket in the primary, did as well as he did, says former Democratic National Chairman **Robert Strauss**, because "there's not a single soul in the Democratic Party that excites anyone these days." . . . Sen. **Charles Robb** (D., Va.), a leader of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, looks at Silber's electrifying campaign as "a wake-up call for the party . . . [in that it showed] an important understanding of voter alienation." . . . Also in Massachusetts, GOP congressional contender **John MacGovern**, victim of the most negative campaign ads of the year, came within four points (48 to 52 per cent) of upsetting Democratic state chairman Rep. **Chet Atkins**. . . . In Connecticut, when the smoke cleared, it was **Lowell Weicker** in a squeaker. After starting out 35 per cent ahead of the opposition, Weicker beat Republican **John Rowland** by only two points, 40 to 38 per cent, in the three-way gubernatorial contest. . . . And the Democrats in Connecticut and liberals in Congress took a hit with the election of black conservative businessman **Gary Franks** over liberal Democratic former Congressman **Toby Moffett** in Rowlands's 5th CD. Franks, who opposed **Teddy Kennedy**'s civil-rights bill in the campaign, should shake up the congressional Black Caucus. He will be the first black Republican to serve in Congress since 1935. . . . Connecticut's Democratic Party has been bumped to Row C for the next four years, behind Weicker's "A Connecticut Party," and the GOP. . . . In New York, it was a close thing for the GOP. Conservative Party candidate **Herb London** came within 37,000 votes of beating **Pierre Rinfret** and wresting Row B from the Republicans.



© Shailo, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

*"How do they manage to be so punctual with the fare increases?"*

■ The international political landscape a year after the breaching of the Wall is vastly changed: One-party rule is on the way out in Africa. Multiparty elections have been held in **Gabon** and the **Ivory Coast**. **Kenneth Kaunda** of Zambia has called for a new constitution and new elections next October. **Cape Verde** and **Mozambique**, both former Portuguese colonies, are writing new constitutions legalizing other political parties. Holdouts are **Kenya**, where President (since 1978) **Daniel arap Moi** vows to hunt down political pluralists "like rats," and **Tanzania**, where **Julius Nyerere**'s successor **Ali Hassan Mwinyi** won a second five-year term in an uncontested election in October. . . . India, the Third World's only long-lived democracy, seems headed for disaster. No one expects the newly elected Prime Minister **Chandra Shekhar** to last more than a few weeks or months given the rise of militant Hinduism, agitation among the Sikhs in Punjab and Muslims in Kashmir, and dissatisfaction of India's growing middle class with corruption and bureaucratic bungling. . . . Czechoslovakia is taking a hard line toward Cuba. Its Washington embassy will no longer permit **Castro** to operate an interests section there, and Czech airline flights to Cuba have been canceled. . . . Ireland last week elected its first woman president, **Mary Robinson**, a civil-rights activist who favors divorce, abortion, and homosexual rights. But her election to the largely ceremonial post is regarded more as a protest against Prime Minister **Charles Haughey**'s high-handed regime than an espousal of Mrs. Robinson's outré (by Irish standards) positions.

■ The chutzpah award of the season goes to Illinois state Representative **Ellis Levin**, who boasted in campaign ads that his reputation had earned him "special recognition" by *Chicago Magazine*—which it had. *Chicago* called Levin one of Illinois's ten worst legislators.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Finally: a readable popular history of America—and one you can *trust*

**$36.50 — publisher's price for these 5 quality paperbacks.**

**Yours FREE!**

## *"Probably the best available survey history of the United States"*—THE FREEMAN

Clarence B. Carson, continues *The Freeman*, "has formed a richly woven tapestry of events and the ideas that spawned them. . . . For Carson, history is not merely a collection of facts and dates, an account of explorations, settlements, westward expansion, wars, Presidents, and elections. History is the product of the actions of countless individuals, each under the influence of certain ideas. And Carson explores those ideas, ideologies, and 'isms.' He shows how they were responsible for the settlement of this continent, the struggle for freedom, the westward expansion, the construction of schools, churches, factories, and the founding of new religious denominations. He explains why our ancestors fought for their beliefs, and strove to create a government, limited in scope, with checks and balances, that would not have the power to oppress the people."

### In 5 Sweeping Volumes, The American Story

VOLUME 1: THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE, 1607-1774
VOLUME 2: THE BEGINNING OF THE REPUBLIC, 1775-1825
VOLUME 3: THE SECTIONS AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1826-1877
VOLUME 4: THE GROWTH OF AMERICA, 1878-1928
VOLUME 5: THE WELFARE STATE, 1929-1985

Dr. Carson is a man who cherishes our noblest traditions. Far too many modern historians, pursuing the agenda of the Left, leave our past in tatters. Not Dr. Carson. He understands what made our country great — and what threatens us today. He gives us the facts, and interprets them in ways that patriotic conservatives and libertarians will applaud. He captures the color too, the clash of controversy, the values we are still struggling to hand down to our children.

If you've long since left the campus behind but would like a sound, readable refresher in American history, this is your first choice.

- 1,316 pages
- 211 quick, meaty profiles of key people
- Lavishly illustrated with 238 photos, engravings and maps
- At the end of each volume: glossary of dozens of key terms . . . proper-name index . . . suggestions for further reading (yes, *reliable* books) . . . extensive footnotes for documentation
- Brief chronologies begin each chapter, to give you key dates and put the section into perspective
- EXTRA — AND VALUABLE: 5 documents vital to our heritage:

The Declaration of Independence • The Constitution • Washington's Farewell Address • Jefferson's First Inaugural Address • The Monroe Doctrine

**How to get this 5-volume $36.50 set FREE**

### How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

**CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB**
15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send FREE my 5-volume $36.50 set of Clarence B. Carson's Basic History of the United States. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in the coupon. **NR-178**

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE WEEK

■ The smart money says that in 1992 the Democrats will nominate Senator George Mitchell of Maine—for a second term as U.S. President.

■ Resentful voters booted out Governors Martinez (Fla.), Hayden (Kan.), and Orr (Neb.), and a number of Massachusetts and Maryland lawmakers, in large part because they raised taxes. On the federal level, two incumbents who voted for the tax-hiking budget package and then defended it in their campaigns—Minnesota Senator Rudy Boschwitz and Vermont Representaive Peter Smith—got the heave-ho. Also, tax- and bond-raising initiatives suffered setbacks in seven states, including a transportation pledge bond in Virginia, a call for business and cigarette taxes in Montana, and California's "nickel a drink" and "safe street" tax proposals. But tax revolters had little luck advancing *their* agenda. Massachusetts voters defeated a $2-billion tax rollback, and an attempt to eliminate Utah's sale tax was shot down, as were Colorado and Nebraska tax-reform proposals. The climate of economic nervousness has frightened voters away from going for lower taxes. But they sure as hell don't want higher taxes.

■ A Wisconsin man was convicted of assaulting a woman with 46 personalities, on the grounds that, while he had the consent of one personality, the other 45 were opposed or undecided. It just makes us wonder: How many of George Bush's personalities agreed to raise taxes?

■ On abortion, the election results gave foes and advocates reasons both to cheer and to cry. Pro-choicers can crow over Lawton Chiles's drubbing of Florida Governor Bob Martinez and Ann Richards's defeat of Clayton Williams in Texas. Equally telling was a pro-choice-ballot-initiative win in Nevada, and the rejection of two pro-life referenda in Oregon. But Jesse Helms's defeat of Harvey Gantt and the gubernatorial victories of Pennsylvania incumbent Bob Casey, John Engler in Michigan, George Voinovich (who bested pro-life turncoat Anthony Celebrezze) in Ohio, and Kansas Democrat Joan Finney (over Mike Hayden, another switcher) have given pro-lifers at least equal bragging rights. So too have the results of state races, where pro-lifers made a net gain of some 27 legislative seats. And remember the GOP's "big tent" theory? Pro-life Democrats won four of the five gubernatorial races where they faced pro-choice Republicans, while a third-party pro-lifer drew enough votes to ensure the defeat of GOP pro-choicer Dave Frohnmayer in Oregon's race for governor.

■ Incidentally, a Wirthlin Group poll commissioned by the U.S. Catholic Conference has found that most Americans have no idea how many abortions are performed annually in this country. Nearly a third put the figure at under one hundred thousand (the best estimate is 1.6 million). The respondents also had the impression that a fifth of all abortions are sought after rape or incest (the real figure is less than 1 per cent) and that 15 per cent are performed to save the mother's life (when only 3 per cent are even alleged to have been procured primarily for health reasons of any kind). Shocking ignorance? Not when you consider that most people get their information from the same news media that aren't reporting these findings.

■ There were issues, however, on which voters sent clear signals. Just six months after the hoopla of Earth Day, the electorate handed environmentalists a string of defeats. Among the measures smogged out were California's "Big Green" proposition and an Oregon plan to shut the Trojan nuclear-power plant. Other similar referenda lost in Missouri, Washington, New York, and South Dakota.

■ Hiring quotas, meanwhile, appeared on no state ballots. But oppostion to them was instrumental in the victories of several candidates—most notably

Baloo

*"Now that the election is over, let's put aside our political differences, and* really *tax these people!"*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jesse Helms, Pete Wilson, and Alabama Governor Guy Hunt. When will the Republicans realize that here is an issue with strong voter appeal here?

■ Speaking of clear messages, New York City got one from the small, put-upon borough of Staten Island: They want out. Some 82 per cent of the Islanders voted to form a commission to explore seceding from Gotham City. Now, not even New Yorkers like New York.

■ Yet somehow New York City thinks of itself as not just richer or livelier than the rest of America, but *better*—the gateway of immigrants, the lamp of enlightenment, and so forth, and so on. So, when members of the unions striking the *Daily News* slash the tires and shoot out the windows of delivery trucks, tell vendors that if they carry the paper their stands will catch fire, and make death threats to management, how does the city respond? Pols join the picket lines. Jack Newfield, a *News* columnist and moralist-at-large, resigns from the paper in disgust. Irving Howe explains in an op-ed piece that the poor thugs are, after all, reacting to scabs, who constitute the real threat to the community. Interestingly, the *New York Times*, which sees its own self-interest at stake, has covered the violence pretty thoroughly, but it is swimming upstream. Wilding, it seems, isn't confined to Central Park.

■ Mike Webel owns a small business in the Hispanic community of southwest Chicago, reports Mike Royko of the *Chicago Tribune*. Of his 26 employees, 21 are Hispanic and 5 are black. Obviously Mr. Webel should have known to worry when snoops from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission requested a gander at his records. But he didn't. And now Mr. Webel is being required by the EEOC to "spend about $10,000 on newspaper advertising to find black people who didn't work for me so I can pay them $123,000 for not working for me." Mr. Webel explains: "They told me that I should have had 8.45 black employees in 1988 and 1989. . . . that within a three-mile radius of my plant, companies that have one hundred workers or more average 31.3 blacks." Mr. Webel will simply shut down if the EEOC doesn't back off. Once again regulation champions the cause of the little guy.

■ By interviewing many people who have fled Kuwait, Amnesty International has been able to put together a report that paints a horrifying picture of the situation there. Arbitrary arrest, torture, rape, execution, and plain murder are commonplace—to an extent that justifies using the word genocide. Iraq clearly aims at destroying Kuwait as a distinctive entity in order to absorb it entirely. The longer we delay, the more thoroughly Saddam Hussein will achieve his objective. And the more captives will be tortured and killed.

■ Eleven years ago the inscrutable Occident (us) severed diplomatic ties with free Taiwan upon starting diplomatic relations with Communist China. It was widely held at the time by inscrutable us that this would ruin Taiwan. Not quite. Taiwan has since increased its GNP by a factor of five; its per-capita income by a factor of six; and its foreign exchange by a factor of more than 12. Taiwan has the highest savings rate in the world (40 per cent) and its main stock exchange became the third largest in the world by tripling its size in the last year. The operative factors in this stunning growth were "capitalism, a free market, and a work ethic." Now, if *we* could just figure out how to cut diplomatic relations with Washington, D.C.

■ Public-interest law's original intent was to give legal assistance, pro bono, to clients who could not afford it, while providing students on-hands experience. According to a report by the Washington Legal Foundation, however, most such programs are now geared to assisting liberal special interests like the Natural Resources Defense Council, William Kunstler's Center for Constitutional Rights, Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Groups, among many others. Many students are granted financial aid (regardless of need) for participating in the programs; some are paid stipends by the school to work for, say, the ACLU. Liberalism no longer marches on; it hitches a ride on the government train.

■ The Justice Department ordered a study recently to determine just how many innocent animals were killed by the *Valdez* oil spill. Naturalists in the Fish & Wildlife Department went into a government-operated refuge and rounded up 350 auklets, cormorants, scooters, common eiders, and ancient murrelets. These creatures, happy survivors of the oil spill who'd winged their way to the refuge, were then shot. All were fitted with radio transmitters and their carcasses thrown to the waters, to be monitored all the way to their final resting place. Taking the percentage of the unfortunate "control group" who turned up on shore, the experts could then calculate losses to the region's entire population. Justice, we're pleased to report, now has its precise count: Fish & Wildlife spent a mere $600,000 for the undertaking, and our friends the fowl—well, they went down in a noble cause. Still, we won't trust the study until the researchers are made to put on some tar and feathers and investigate swimming conditions in Prince William Sound.

■ Every day for the last year NATIONAL REVIEW and *New Republic* editors have been debating the hot is-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sues of the moment on a lively five-minute radio program, "Headline Exchange." Batting for *NR*: Bill Buckley, John O'Sullivan, Wick Allison, Rick Brookhiser, Joe Sobran, Bill McGurn, Brad Miner, and Ed Rubenstein. For them, Rick Hertzberg, Mickey Kaus, Morton Kondracke, Fred Barnes, Jacob Weisberg, and Leon Wieseltier. The program moderator is Phil Nicolaides. "Headline Exchange" airs on over fifty station nationwide. Feel you're missing out? Don't despair, call Radio America, 202-488-7122, for a station near you.

■ Researchers have uncovered evidence that Martin Luther King Jr. prostrated himself before a graven image. That makes it a perfect ten.

■ The Republicans can still bounce back in 1992. After all, they have two full years to persuade George Bush to switch parties.

## '90, '92, and George Bush

WITHOUT AN ELECTION to fight about anymore, the world moves on to fighting about the meaning of the election. Was the Republican Party's defeat, as Democrats would have it, a defeat of its ideas, the final watch in the long night of Reaganism? The tally of the fate of specific issues in specific races suggests that it was not. Big-government environmentalism was a bust, as was unrestricted abortion and Kevin Phillips's favorite, class warfare (America's premier class warrior, New Jersey Governor Jim Florio, continues to beat Saddam Hussein in unpopularity polls, and almost brought down Bill Bradley). By contrast, taxes, the source of Florio's woes, remain as hot a button in state after state as it was when Reagan was President.

Was election day then, as Charlie Black put it, "a good day for the Republican Party"? No again. GOP happy talk is based partly on cooking the figures. Black compared the GOP's loss of one Senate seat and eight House seats to the average loss, for "the party in the White House," of 28 and four seats in the House and Senate, respectively. But that average lumps elections held when the White House party has been in for six years, which are traditionally wipeouts (1986, 1974, 1966, 1958), with the smaller losses that occur after only two years. Besides, how many more seats can the Republican Party lose, especially in the House? When you're already in the cellar, where else is there to go?

The true standard of comparison is not history, but the GOP's own expectations, as late as early June, when the party hoped to hold its own in the House, and to knock off a number of weak Democratic incumbents in the Senate (Harkin, Simon, Pell)—enough perhaps to retake it.

The Republican Party fell short of these goals because it abandoned its principles. It relied, with White House encouragement, on buoyant presidential popularity ratings that sank in a matter of months. Again with White House encouragement, it sent moderates (Claudine Schneider, Lynn Martin) to do difficult jobs; none succeeded. Most disastrously, it went into the fray behind a President who had broken his major campaign pledge, at a time when the issue was salient nationally. Reaganism is still healthy. Bushism should be taken in a shoebox to the backyard and buried.

Attention now turns to 1992. Barring some upheaval, Republicans will likely renominate the President, though there are those in the GOP who can make trouble for him. William Bennett has stepped down as drug czar. The Gulf and the economy have given us a crop of new worries, on which Bennett will be well placed to speak out. Jack Kemp, who praised Newt Gingrich at the height of the budget debacle (and thus implicitly criticized the White House), is also clearly restless.

On the Democratic side, the buzz of election night was Bradley's narrow escape. Forget him in 1992. Scarcely less embarrassed was Mario Cuomo, who ran eight hundred thousand votes behind his last tally, against a Republican who was lucky to be unknown. Sam Nunn and Al Gore were re-elected handsomely, but Nunn is too colorless, and Gore too moderate, to lead the party. The blank screen on which Democratic fantasies could be projected is Nebraska's Bob Kerrey, whose major claim to popular attention heretofore was squiring Debra Winger.

George Bush is at least fortunate in his opponents. But he cannot rely on the inadequacies of opponents, in either the Democratic Party or his own, for 1992. He will have to win back the public's and the party's trust by firm leadership actuated by the principles he supported in Reagan's Administrations and in his own campaign. It will be a long haul. He has a good deal of mistrust and disappointment to overcome.

## Waiting Game

THE PRESIDENT has authorized the dispatch of a vast increment of American forces—150,000 men or more—to the Persian Gulf. Three-and-a-half mechanized or armored divisions, an additional Marine division, and three more carriers will begin flowing to what looks to be a theater of war. By the new year the United States will have the best half of its ground forces in Saudi Arabia and its environs. It is an awesome spectacle, but we find the decision worrisome.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clearly, President Bush will fight if he must. But it appears that with this move the Administration still hopes to scare Saddam out of Kuwait without actually having to fight. *This* time, they argue, Saddam will see we are serious. Maybe, although he has shown little sign of cracking. More importantly, a delay of this kind gives him time to continue to split the coalition against him, allows his allies to create incidents which may turn this conflict into an Arab–Israeli war, grants more opportunity to obliterate an independent Kuwait utterly and irrevocably. Perhaps worst of all, this decision may force us to conduct military operations in the short window of time between February and March when weather conditions are acceptable, and before the Muslim holiday of Ramadan and the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

Indeed, there is something of a short war psychosis in the Administration and among some of its military advisors. They do not want to go to war, but they want vast ground forces in case they do, and they appear unwilling to move until they get them. Some members of the Administration believe that the American people cannot tolerate a long war, forgetting that they put up with the Vietnam conflict for several years before turning against it. Others, spiritual heirs of that able organizer and laggard warrior, General George McClellan, do not want to move before every unit and its equipment are just so. Still others, mainly in the Army, stubbornly deprecate the value of air power, insisting that all real fighting occurs on the ground.

In all these cases dogma masquerades as strategic thought. Air power has been overvalued in the past: now, however, it offers us unique advantages. We must give it time to work, however, and that may mean months of effort; if so, we must begin operations soon. A premature good offensive—one launched before the enemy has cracked under the strain of intensive air pressure—may cost thousands of American lives to no purpose. The American people will tolerate a lengthy conflict if they know why they are fighting it, they see progress, and they understand, even in rough terms, the strategy we are pursuing. It is the President's duty to explain just those things; thus far, he has not done so with adequate clarity or elaboration. It is also his responsibility to query and prod his military advisors, and not merely choose from the standard menu of choices they have offered him. We hope he has done the former; we fear he may have done the latter.

## Doing the Right Thing

THERE WAS only one race the media really, really cared about this year: the Helms–Gantt contest in North Carolina. The pollsters had it tight, but Helms won easily, with 53 per cent of the vote. In the last days of the campaign, the media joined the battle. "Subtly and Not, Race Bubbles Up as Issue in North Carolina Contest," wheezed the *New York Times*.

Helms's sin was to point out where Harvey Gantt actually stood on affirmative action and gay rights. It's apparently okay to support these things, but not to oppose them, to cite your opponent's record on them, or to treat them as the issues they are. But Jesse Helms—Mr. Bush, take note—did *not* let the Democrats and the media define the agenda for him.

Homosexual groups endorsed Gantt and gave money to his campaign, vilifying Helms. Gantt accepted their support. It was hardly a foul tactic for Helms to mention these facts.

Liberal opinion (and that of some Republicans) treats certain interests as sacred, and any opposition to them as near-blasphemy. Jesse Helms didn't play by that rulebook. If Gantt was going to mobilize certain interests, Helms was going to play to their opposites. And he won.

## The Gloom at GATT

RECESSIONS are inevitable from time to time. Depressions require profound mistakes in economic policy. The apparent reluctance of the European Community to negotiate meaningful reductions in trade barriers could easily condemn an already weak world economy to a rerun of the 1930s.

The immediate issue is agriculture. The EC protects a few million of its smallest, most inefficient farmers with a wide array of quotas and export subsidies. The Common Agricultural Policy, or CAP, costs European taxpayers and consumers $125 billion a year, and keeps some food prices three times higher than in the rest of the world. European politicians, however, have shown little stomach to take on the politically well organized farmers.

The U.S., where farm subsidies are already slated

### *Mr. Bush Faces Redistricting*

Beware the Gerrymander, Sir,
  Whose rude incisors snatch
Republicans from districts, where
  They slither down its hatch;
Avoid the thing's prehensile claws
  In Florida's foul fens,
And when in Texas, be alert
  To Gerrymander hens.

W. H. VON DREELE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to fall under the recent budget agreement, originally proposed a 90 per cent reduction in remaining export subsidies over the next ten years. After five weeks of hand wringing, the Europeans reluctantly agreed to consider a 30 per cent cut, in reality even less since it includes the 15 per cent reduction in farm supports already made since 1986.

A half-hearted agreement on European agriculture would probably preclude the U.S. from substantially lowering its textile and clothing barriers. Japan would have no reason to compromise on rice. At that point the Third World nations would probably conclude that their chances of rising to First World status was nil, and walk out on the remainder of the 102-nation Uruguay Round talks.

A collapse would leave unresolved issues critically

## *RIGHT DATA*

# Hold the Malaise

SOCIAL PUNDITS from Joe Kennedy Jr. to Kevin Phillips have convinced many Americans of the ravages inflicted upon working-class people by Reagan-era policies. Less well publicized is the latest Census Bureau survey, showing continued income growth among people of modest means:

**THE INCOME GAP**
*Average Real Income (1989 Dollars)*

| | Poorest 20 Per Cent | Richest 20 Per Cent | Ratio: Richest/Poorest |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1978 | $6,769 | $71,793 | 10.6 |
| 1980 | 6,494 | 70,056 | 10.8 |
| 1983 | 6,291 | 71,983 | 11.4 |
| 1985 | 6,470 | 76,466 | 11.8 |
| 1988 | 6,777 | 82,554 | 12.2 |
| 1989 | 6,994 | 85,529 | 12.2 |

After falling during the late Seventies, the average real income of the poorest fifth of the population increased 11 per cent between 1983 and 1989, and is higher now than any year since the government began measuring the distribution of income in 1967. Still, the income gap between rich and poor is greater now than ever.

The "populists" assert, without proof, that Reaganomics tilted the economic playing field in favor of the rich via tax and budget cuts. However, economists with no political axe to grind are reporting a universal increase in income disparity, not just between rich and poor, but among professionals, college graduates, and blue-collar workers. Demographics, the changing economic returns to education, and foreign competition—not Reaganomics—are responsible for this trend.

For example, during the Seventies the labor market was inundated with young, college-educated workers. Their supply outstripped the demand for their skills, resulting in a decline in the ratio of wages paid to college graduates relative to those paid to the typical high-school graduate. Not surprisingly, this contributed to a narrowing of the rich/poor and black/white income differentials during the 1970s.

Things changed in the 1980s. Although the educational level of new workers continued to rise, the numbers rose far less quickly, resulting in an increased wage premium for college graduates. Marvin Kosters of the American Enterprise Institute calculates that male college graduates of all ages and levels of work experience were paid 61 per cent more than high-school graduates in 1988, nearly double the 32 per cent difference in 1980. The sharp rise in the economic returns to education is a major reason for the larger gap between rich and poor, offsetting transfer payments and other redistributionist public policies.

Of course, years of education says nothing about the quality or relevance of that education. Employers are increasingly paying workers on the basis of demonstrated skills rather than educational credentials. Ten years ago, for example, young pension lawyers of similar age and education could expect to land jobs paying comparable salaries in New York; today the spread ranges from $110,000 for top talent to $42,000 for the average. Similarly, young electrical engineers working in the computer industry earned within $12,000 of each other in 1980. The spread has grown to $25,000, far outstripping inflation, with the high end now at $65,000.

The waning power of unions is one factor often cited to explain the widening wage spread. Deregulation and increased international competition may also have persuaded many U.S. companies to pay more for top talent and pay lower wages to marginal employees.

Whatever the cause, it's clear that improving the quality of education is the key to improving the economic well being of lower-income workers. While many such workers may bemoan the loss of what appears to have been a de facto private-sector safety net, in the long run economic growth and their own standard of living will be better served.

—ED RUBENSTEIN


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

important for the industrial countries: freedom for banks and insurance companies to open branches in developing countries, rules governing trade in telecommunications, construction, and other services (which as a group are growing five times faster than trade in goods), and standards to protect intellectual property. American officials calculate that U.S. businesses lose $60 billion a year to pirated patents, trademarks, and copyrights.

Seven previous rounds of multilateral trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have reduced tariff rates to 5 per cent today from over 40 per cent in 1947. Over the past forty years world trade rose over tenfold, while world output increased about threefold. With one-quarter of international trade at stake in the present negotiations, and with recession signals flashing everywhere, the Europeans would be well advised to restrain their bucolic provincialism.

They stand to lose as much as anyone from a breakdown in the international trading system.

## The Fine Print

FIVE YEARS AGO the original Gramm–Rudman legislation promised a balanced budget by 1991. By focusing exclusively on the deficit, however, the law sanctioned the tax-and-spend policies which have pushed federal spending up by $290 billion (31 per cent) since 1985.

Now OMB director Richard Darman, entering a plea in mitigation, tells us the latest G–R incarnation changes all that. We now have spending "caps" on domestic, international, and defense spending, as well as "mini-sequesters": automatic cuts that are triggered when spending exceeds the cap—but only applied to the category that is overspent. No longer will defense be savaged to pay for Medicare's profligacy.

That's the theory. In fact Congress has written the law so as to virtually preclude any sequestration, mini or maxi. For starters, domestic spending is allowed to jump as much as 12 per cent in 1991, and an additional 6.5 per cent per year through 1993. Should a recession drive social spending through the roof, the cap is simply adjusted accordingly. "Emergency" spending is welcome anytime, as are outlays which come in above the original forecast for "technical" reasons. If all else fails, the Administration reserves the right to decide into which of the three spending areas a given piece of legislation falls. Any wiggle room anywhere will do.

Of course, the real budget busters—Social Security and Medicaid—are immune from any cuts, anytime. Medicare, despite being "cut" by $42 billion, will still be one of the fastest growing entitlements. The much touted "pay as you go" provision in effect allows Democrats to add new entitlements without limit, provided that enough taxpayers ("wealthy ones," of course) are found to pay for them. And in 1994 and 1995 the spending caps are reunited again, permitting domestic accounts once again to put the touch on the military.

In the unlikely event that the caps are breached OMB—not Congress—would dictate where and how much to cut. Similarly, if a congressional committee decides it wants to cut taxes, OMB—not Congress—will decide how much money should be raised and where it should come from. It sounds great until you remember that Mr. Darman's demonstrated reluctance to offend any member of Congress, anytime.

Non-defense spending—excluding interest and the S&L bailout—will increase by at least $245 billion through 1995 under the latest agreement. Yet we are asked to believe that come 1995 we will be reveling in a $83-billion deficit, the nightmare behind us. The more things change in Washington, the worse they become.

### *Mr. Cuomo's Burden*

Like something out of Coleridge,
  It drapes around his neck
As Mario attempts to throw
  The creature to the deck;
"I am the deficit," it croaks
  To more than one in three,
Who've got the word this soggy bird
  Resides in Albany.

W. H. VON DREELE

## Exit Czar

IF ANYONE could have led the way to victory in the War on Drugs, it was Bill Bennett. He resigned as drug czar after 19 months without conceding defeat, but it's hard to see drug abuse as anything but a chronic condition, like alcoholism; something we are destined to have with us indefinitely, and with which we must somehow come to terms. There will be no day of triumph.

Bennett correctly defined drug abuse as essentially a moral problem. But he accepted the mandate President Bush announced in his inaugural address: "This scourge will stop." Despite Bennett's strategic intelligence and his indefatigable efforts to educate the public, he did not bring us appreciably closer to that goal.

It can be argued that Bennett fell victim to George



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bush's flightiness. It seems ages ago that Bush defined drug abuse as the nation's chief domestic problem and its eradication as his top priority; there have been so many top priorities lately. But not everything that is called a "national problem" has a national solution. Illegal drugs abound in prisons, the most tightly controlled environment in America, and even in Iran, where you can be shot in the street for mere possession.

The good news is that drug abuse seems to have peaked and begun to taper slightly. Bennett surely deserves full credit for whatever part moral suasion has played in the downturn. But his successor should not be expected to achieve much more.

## Martin Luther King Jr., PhD

SAINTS, George Orwell wrote, should be held guilty until proven otherwise. The revelation that Martin Luther King Jr. plagiarized his doctoral thesis (in theology!) and probably large chunks of his other writings further tarnishes the man whose most famous speech (assuming it was his) pled that people be judged by their character not color. It wouldn't matter much except for his status as an official secular saint.

The new disclosure comes just as the National Football League has decided to withdraw the Super Bowl from the city of Phoenix on grounds that Arizona voted against making King's birthday a state holiday. Anyone is entitled to admire King privately, and there are surely aspects of his life that warrant admiration. What has irritated many people is the nature of the compulsory veneration accorded him—surely on largely racial grounds—when it is denied to other deserving men. Making his birthday a national holiday, Congress ignored troubling information that was already public and suppressed other information that might have embarrassed the cause.

As shabby details in King's life emerge, a mood of cynicism sets in: a sense that minority pressures have exaggerated his merits and prohibit correction. We're stuck with our first affirmative-action saint.

## The Better of Two Goods

IN AN important sense, it matters little who wins the Polish presidential elections scheduled for November 25, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki or Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Whoever wins, Poland will have as leader a patriot with the best of intentions. This may not be sufficient recommendation for high office in other countries, but it has been a rare thing in Poland these last three centuries. Moreover, both men promise to guide Poland toward a pluralist, free-market, democratic society that will seek an early association with the European community. The difference between them lies in the style and the pace of reforms promised. Those who want an aristocratic type—paternalist, distant, studied, and capable of using knife and fork—will vote for Mr. Mazowiecki.

Mr. Walesa, on the other hand, has some of Ronald Reagan's virtues. He may not be the most subtle of intellectuals, but he more than compensates with magnetism, energy, and an instinctive understanding of the needs of the common man. Polls suggest that it is Mr. Walesa's optimism, stamina, and enthusiasm that most Poles favor.

Whatever the outcome, the presidential campaign—the first draft of democracy Poles have tasted for half a century—is already having beneficial results. The Mazowiecki government has sprung to action since Mr. Walesa's challenge. Suddenly, Communist thieves and criminals are being prosecuted more vigorously. Privatization has accelerated, foreign policy becomes more assertive and public relations more active. If that's what democracy is all about, then Poles are coming to like it.

## Paul Seabury, R I P

FOR BEING so stern, Paul Seabury was the most whimsical man I knew. Humor was his protection against caring too much. Friends and conference-goers carried with them the satiric drawings that said the things he did not have time to say. Similarly, his book on the rules of croquet competed with heavy tomes on diplomacy and sharp commentaries on war and oil crises.

Paul was a patriot. He loved America. He made fun of its politicians, but he valued its institutions. For they seemed to him marvelously to include the delicate balance of freedom and order needed to sustain a republic of free people.

A believer in the aristocracy of virtue and talent to which, in their better moments, the Framers of the Constitution subscribed, Paul Seabury thought a meritocratic society worth preserving. No neo-anything, he was the genuine article—a conservative.

For Paul, the best political time was when the Democratic Party supported both a strong national defense and a strong domestic helping hand. His abiding belief that the parts of American society should support the whole was reflected in his scholarly contributions and advisory service to national security and domestic welfare.

Descended from the first Anglican bishop of North America, Samuel Seabury, Paul in his later years rediscovered his Anglo-Catholic roots and became one



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the most articulate critics of an Episcopal Church he thought had been conquered by radical chic. Many people still regard his *Harper's* cover piece, "Trendier than Thou," as the most powerful critique ever written of the radicalizing trends in the church.

Even as he sought to improve its intelligence, Paul Seabury defended his country's institutions. Aside from his felicity with words, what distinguished Paul's scholarly work was its moral basis. Yes, the United States had every right to defend itself. Yes, its strength and will were essential to a decent international order. Yes, the military and the intelligence services were honorable professions. No, the imperfections that afflict all things do not make America indefensible.

Because he recognized that violence is the final arbiter of controversies over how men shall live their lives, and of who will rule over whom, Paul Seabury taught his students to deal with matters that would affect their lives. His teaching and writing were based on history. Later in his career, Seabury added policy foresight to academic distinction. He championed reserve-officer training at Berkeley and was part of the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, which fostered intelligence studies in American universities. He served on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and thus taught at the highest level of the U.S. Government.

As the field of international relations developed beyond interest in a wise foreign policy, Paul grew less interested in what he perceived as tinkering with non-essentials. The legacy that he has left to his students and friends, of devotion to scholarship and country, leavened by wry commentary on human frailty, will endure. —AARON WILDAVSKY

## NOTES & ASIDES

■ Editor:
*Atlanta Constitution*
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Your paper carried an editorial (July 14, 1990) headed, "Out of the Closet and into NATIONAL REVIEW," in which you reported on Mr. Marvin Liebman's letter in NATIONAL REVIEW in which he revealed himself as gay.

You wrote, "Mr. Liebman's declaration matters because, at age 67, he came out of the closet precisely to confront his political mates and followers"—you are here referring to the leaders of the conservative movement in America—"as one of the prime sources of homophobia. Mr. Buckley, for example, in whose NATIONAL REVIEW Mr. Liebman witnessed, once suggested that gay AIDS victims be tattooed on the buttocks. For all his pretensions to elegance—or perhaps because of them—Mr. Buckley at times dips toward the manners of Buchenwald."

To set the record straight:

Professor Alan Dershowitz and I discussed the question of AIDS and civil liberties on my television program, *Firing Line*, on December 2, 1985. It was that discussion that gave rise to the whole business of Buckley-wants-to-tattoo-all-homosexuals. It is instructive for personal and professional reasons to study 1) what was said on the air, and, subsequently, 2) what was written, in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times*.

At the time of the Dershowitz discussion we knew less about AIDS than we now do. Mr. Dershowitz believed that only 10 to 20 per cent of those who carried the virus would die of it, and I had no grounds to challenge that estimate (we now know it is much much higher: perhaps, if Dr. Norman Ross Tamarkin is correct, even as high as 100 per cent). And it was not known with certainty whether contamination could be effected by casual encounters (we now know that it cannot be).

**WFB:** What would be your attitude toward some kind of ineffaceable mark on a human body to be implanted in the event that AIDS were recognized? . . . We both agree that if John Jones were in every sense of the word moral, he would inform his sexual partner that he had it, right?

**Dershowitz:** That's right.

**WFB:** Okay. Now hypothetically, what would be your response to a law that required that person to carry on his body—and presumably it could be on a remote part of his body under the circumstances—some sign that would alert—that would be visible to somebody who was engaged in a practice in which it was likely that he would see it.

**Dershowitz:** And it would say in the small print, basically, "If you're close enough to read this, be careful?"

**WFB:** That's right . . . I am asking you whether the idea of required identification of that kind—Some people when they get drivers' licenses and need glasses, have to have on there that they need glasses or else they can't drive. Now this becomes very relevant when you're driving. When you are in the business of homosexual sex, presumably, there is a counterpart to that point.

**Dershowitz:** Would you let me throw the question back at you? If, as has happened, a rector of a church, or—as happened in one case, a priest or a nun—got the AIDS virus through blood transfusions, would you require that

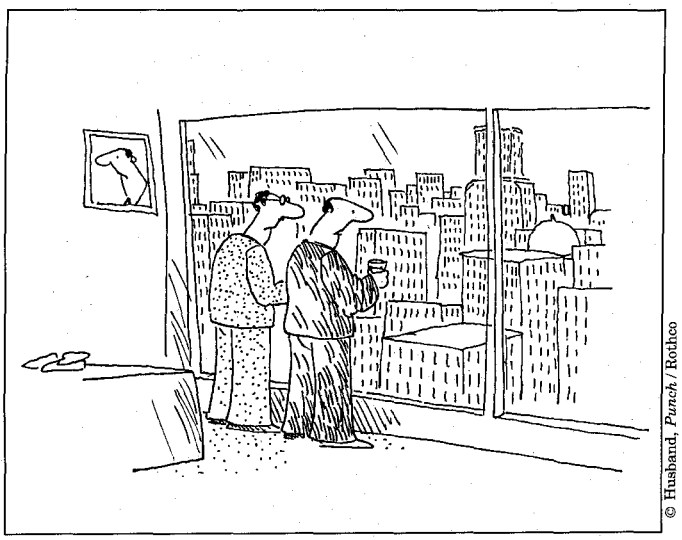
### *An Uncertain Trumpet*

As Mr. Bush's famous lips
Firm up, refuting former flips,
The question is, should one salute
Or simply listen to the toot?

W. H. VON DREELE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



© Husband, *Punch*/Rothco

*"From this point, Waverley, you can see 17 takeover bids."*

priest or nun or vicar or somebody who you would have no reason to believe would be a) immoral, b) dishonest—would you require them to carry that demarcation too? Or would you only limit it to people who had AIDS—

**WFB:** No, no, no. I would be impartial in the application of this law. I'd have a 12-year-old child do it if he had gotten the disease from his diseased mother. It seems to me the idea is to protect people—we have a public obligation to figure out a way of protecting [them]. . . . If [the ensuing mark] was on a concealed part of the body, then most people would *not* know.

**Dershowitz:** If you are going to say that anybody who tests positive on this has to do things and carry certain signs, everybody is going to say, "I am not going to get tested unless they make me get tested."

**WFB:** Oh I don't know, because that's the same person who *wants* to avoid contamination by somebody else. And after all, if this is going to become increasingly a heterosexual problem, with infected men passing it along to women and—God help them—to little children, it seems to me that we have something very like a common concern crystallizing.

A few months later, at the urging of the *New York Times*, Dershowitz and I shared an op-ed spread on combatting the AIDS epidemic. I wrote that *The Economist* had recently raised the possibility that "the AIDS virus will have killed more than 250,000 Americans in eight years' time," and that if the epidemic extended to that point, it would burst through existing boundaries. There would then be "no guarantee that the disease will remain largely confined to groups at special risk, such as homosexuals, hemophiliacs, and people who inject drugs intravenously. If AIDS were to spread through the general population, it would become a catastrophe."

*"Is it then proposed that AIDS carriers should be publicly identified as such?"* I asked hypothetically.

"The evidence is not completely in as to the communicability of the disease. While much has been said that is reassuring, the moment has not yet come when men and women of science are unanimously agreed that AIDS cannot be casually communicated. Let us be patient on that score, pending any tilt in the evidence: If the news is progressively reassuring, public identification would not be necessary. If it turns in the other direction and AIDS develops among, say, children who have merely roughhoused with other children who suffer from AIDS, then more drastic segregation measures would be called for." I asked then my next hypothetical question:

*"But if the time has not come, and may never come, for public identification, what then of private identification?"* And wrote, "Everyone with AIDS should [then] be tattooed in the upper forearm, to protect common-needle users, and on the buttocks, to prevent the victimization of other homosexuals." I even went so far as to frame the objection of a startled and thoughtless observer:

*"You have got to be kidding! That's exactly what we suspected all along! You are calling for the return of the Scarlet Letter, but only for homosexuals!"* (Italics in the original.)

"Answer: The Scarlet Letter was designed to stimulate public obloquy. The AIDS tattoo is designed for private protection. And the whole point of this is that we are not talking about a kidding matter. [If] our society is generally threatened, then in order to fight AIDS we need the civil equivalent of universal military training."

Well then. The record is pretty clear that the effort was never to "stigmatize homosexuals," including as I did in my recommendation contaminated-needle users, priests, nuns, and even children. Yet that charge has been made, over & over. To the charge that the mere mention of "tattoo" brings to mind Nazi extermination camps, I used to reply that because they used barbed wire in Buchenwald to keep men and women from freedom ought not to stigmatize ranchers who use barbed wire to separate, say, bulls from cows. But, finally fatigued by the misinterpretation, I formally withdrew the suggestion (see *On The Firing Line: The Public Life of Our Public Figures*, Random House, 1989, p. 212) even though it had never been more than hypothetical. But I have permitted myself to wonder how many men and women have died, or have been sentenced to death, since 1985, by society's failure to come up with a means of protecting the uncontaminated and unknowing, from the contaminated who knew.

In short, every substantial charge you leveled in your irresponsible editorial is unfounded. It will be revealing to examine the apology you write, though to tell the truth I have the sinking feeling that you'd be left much happier if I had indeed called for branding all homosexuals with AIDS, showing the manners of Buchenwald. Perhaps I should apologize for disappointing you.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
**—WFB**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *"Pat Buchanan is perhaps the most brilliant and influential conservative writing in America today ..."*

**– Richard Nixon**

Try his newsletter, ***Patrick J. Buchanan ... From the Right,*** for three issues — and take a full refund if not completely satisfied.

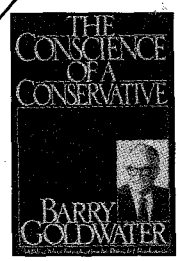
At least 18 times a year — in 12 monthly issues, 4 quarterlies, and Special Reports when he deems them necessary — Pat Buchanan really talks to conservatives. On TV, you may catch him for a few minutes per half hour. Maybe you see his column once in a while. But only in his newsletter do you find the concentrated Buchanan:

- Strategy memos, like the ones he wrote for Presidents Reagan and Nixon
- Recession (or will it be depression?) politics, and how things might change, perhaps drastically, for the White House and the Right
- "The New Nationalism": regular pieces on America's role in an unpredictable new world
- The media and its new sport, Christian Bashing
- "The Cultural War": Pat sees it as a battle for the nation's soul
- "Kinder, gentler," and those gentlemen on the Congressional Left: it's long since time to turn up the heat, and Pat shows how
- The trendsetters in Hollywood and the Northeast
- Loyal opposition: where Pat disagrees with the President
- The Big Question: whither the Soviets?

When Pat's book, *Right from the Beginning,* was published, George Bush said:

**"To know what the conservatives are thinking you have to read Pat Buchanan."**

Needless to say, we send the President a copy of each issue of ***From the Right.*** Hope you'll give it a try — and remember the money-back guarantee.




## FREE

The new Regnery-Gateway hardcover edition of Barry Goldwater's legendary book, *The Conscience of a Conservative.* A $17.95 value, it contains a new 4,500-word introduction by Pat Buchanan. It's yours FREE when you subscribe to ***From the Right.***

**Money back guarantee:** If after three issues you're not completely satisfied, we will send you a full refund, no questions asked.

**Yes Pat, I will subscribe!**
Send my free copy of Senator Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* to:

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

☐ My $49.00 check for a one year subscription is enclosed.
(Checks should be made payable to ***PJB ... FTR***)

☐ Bill my Visa/Mastercard
(Signature and expiration date must be included)
☐ Visa
☐ Mastercard:

Card Number:_____

Signature:_____

Expiration Date:_____

Mail this form to: ***PJB ... FTR***
Suite 175
NR3 2020 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *Enjoy every week ...*

*Pat Buchanan*

•Challenging opinions by 54 National Columnists and Cartoonists
CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE
$1.50
Vol. 5, Number 24
Hampton, Iowa
Wednesday, June 13, 1990
Latest Threat to National Defense: Congress
Pat Buchanan's column on page 1.
DEFENSE
For quick reference to all articles, turn to TOPIC INDEX on page 1.

*James Kilpatrick*

*Joseph Sobran*

*George Will*

# At Last There is One Source

***How can you get** all of the top conservative columnists and your favorite cartoonists every week?*

***You could subscribe** to over a dozen metro newspapers, or save the trouble by subscribing to the publication that has them all – the **Conservative Chronicle.***

If you want to know what all the nation's finest conservative minds are saying about the Middle East crisis, terrorism, the Supreme Court, defense spending, obscenity issues, educational reform and individual rights ... now there is **one** convenient source – the ***Conservative Chronicle!***

Every week, read the distinguished columnists shown plus William Rusher, Warren Brookes, Evans & Novak, Mona

*Donald Lambro*

*R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ... all your favorite columns.

Charen, Suzanne Fields, Paul Harvey, Edward Grimsley, Don Feder, Andy Seamans, Thomas Sowell – more than **28** nationally-respected columnists and **24** cartoonists with conservative appeal.

And it's all in an easy-to-handle format! The ***Conservative Chronicle***, a 32-page tabloid, is packed with great opinions about current topics of critical importance. All columns are published in full the week they're released.

William Buckley

***All 52 issues are yours for only $36.00! Cancel at any time, for any reason, and get a full refund on unmailed copies.***

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE

Volume 5•Number 42 — Box 29•Hampton, Iowa•50441 — October 17, 1990

PATRICK BUCHANAN

GOP forfeited its opportunity

TOPIC INDEX

•INTERNATIONAL•

•NATIONAL•

•GOVERNMENT•

•ESSAYS•

***A great gift idea!***

You'll also enjoy the timely wit and humor of the ***Conservative Chronicle's*** featured cartoonists, including Jeff McNelly, Dick Wright, Jerry Barnett, Ranan Lurie, Steve Kelly, Mike Shelton, Bill DeOre, Henry Payne and Steve Benson!

Jeane Kirkpatrick

Don't miss this great line-up of conservative thinkers. Get the complete story from the **one** source that has all your favorite columnists and cartoonists – the weekly ***Conservative Chronicle***.

Call **toll-free 1-800-888-3039** or mail coupon to take advantage of this exceptional value!

William Safire

Charley Reese

## *Conservative Chronicle*

Box 11297, Des Moines, IA 50340-1297

***Yes,*** *I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $36.00 (add $20.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.*

Payment: ❒ Check ❒ Bill me ❒ VISA ❒ MC

Card # _____ Exp. date _____

Name _____

Address _____ Apt. #____

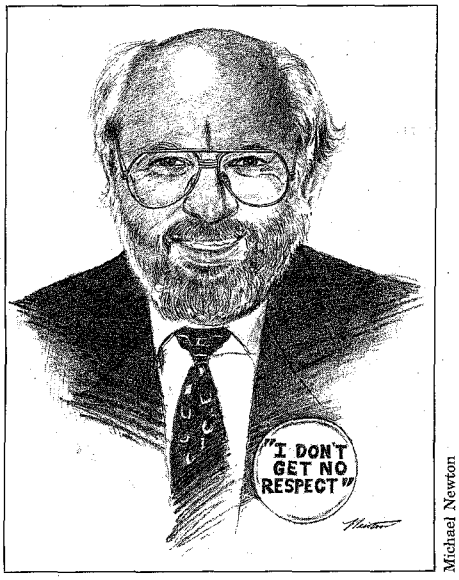
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ON THE SCENE

## Late Night with Ed Rollins

WILLIAM McGURN




Michael Newton

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IT'S 3 A.M. at the National Republican Congressional Committee headquarters, and a rumpled Ed Rollins stretches out on the couch and puts his feet up on the coffee table. In among the mounds of files on his desk sits a paper plate of cold cuts, stale remnants of a dinner he never had time to eat. Twenty months ago, when Rollins took over as co-chairman here, he'd planned on picking up five to ten seats this year and positioning the Republican Party for a 1992 takeover of Congress. Tonight he'll be happy to keep his losses in single digits.

No one ever said that electing Republicans to a House that hasn't seen a GOP majority since 1954 would be easy. Tonight's go-around was all the more of a challenge: the party that occupies the White House traditionally takes its lumps in off-year elections (Reagan lost 26 seats in 1982). Yet until George Bush re-read his lips on taxes, it stood poised for a net gain. The move threw the party into disarray, and House Republicans—the majority of whom had also taken the no-new-taxes pledge—were most vulnerable. When Rollins stepped in to advise them in a now-infamous memo to stick to their no-tax promises even if it meant crossing the President, Bush called for his head. It says something about the state of the party today that the man most vindicated by the results this evening is the one most in danger of losing his job.

"To be honest, I do feel totally vindicated," he says. "The possibility was there to lose as many as twenty seats, but those who managed to put some distance between themselves and the President on taxes did okay. The one senator [Rudy Boschwitz] and one House member [Pete Smith] who voted for the tax package and then tried to defend it got their doors blown off."

Whatever else Rollins may be accused of, a reluctance to speak frankly is not among them. Two days earlier, on Fox TV, he characterized George Bush's 1990 theme song as "It's my party, I'll cry if I want to." This evening, in his office, he is equally blunt. Pierre Rinfret, the hapless GOP gubernatorial candidate in New York, he calls an "idiot"—"he gave away all the . . . things we stood for." When CNN's election report flashes a visual of Senator Jesse Helms's gloating over Dan Rather's "grieving face," Rollins approves: "the only one who's stood for something." And when a staffer brings the news that Vietnam ace Duke Cunningham, some of whose exploits were immortalized by actor Tom Cruise in *Top Gun*, upset Democratic incumbent Jim Bates in California's 44th district, he rubs his hands with glee.

Anyone else might be dismissed as a blowhard, but even the competition is somewhat in awe of Rollins, and well they should be: he's their loss. The son of an electrician ("the classic Reagan Democrat," he likes to say), Rollins was twice political director for the Reagan White House and managed the near-flawless 1984 Reagan–Bush campaign. No surprise, then, that in sharp contrast to Beltway wisdom, he holds that substance has something to do with success. "I want candidates with convictions who can articulate those convictions."

Bush, too, wanted Republicans who could articulate convictions, and at a June press conference following his new thinking on taxes, he stated publicly that he told them to "advocate what you believe." But not apparently to act on it: when House Republicans rejected the pro-tax budget package, the Administration sent in the goon squad. The result was a fuzzing of the party lines; Rollins notes, for example, that Democrats in tight elections also campaigned against the budget package. In short, Reagan Democrats stayed where they were while Reagan's party moved away from them. "It looks like an erosion in the South," says communications director John Roberts, puffing on a cigarette, a habit he resumed when the S&L scandal started to hit Republicans earlier this year. "The Democrats and Independents who became Republicans in the 1980s are drifting." Even Newt Gingrich only squeaked by, in part because of his vote for the congressional pay raise and the erosion of blue-collar support. Had he not walked out on the summit deal, he'd have lost.

Now, the standard Republican answer will be to point to the historical trends of a presidential party in an off-year election. The next day, in fact, acting Republican National Committee chief Charles Black will cite such trends to explain to a confused America why all these GOP defeats are really victories. Yet there are those who suggest that the off-year disadvantage should have been more than offset by the resignations in disgrace of the Democratic Speaker of the House and the Majority Whip, the collapse of Communism, and Republican achievement of parity in voter registration.

If we are talking about history, moreover, it's also fair to point out that George Bush's election as President in 1988 was accompanied by the unprecedented loss of six GOP House

*Mr. McGurn is NR's Washington bureau chief.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seats. And although Chief of Staff John Sununu now says the eight House losses are less than expected, back when taxes were first put on the negotiating table he insisted privately that there would be no GOP losses. Republicans seem to note the discrepancies: a Quayle direct-mail piece raised more in four days than a Bush letter did in almost a month (one wag's question now: will Quayle keep Bush on the ticket in 1992?).

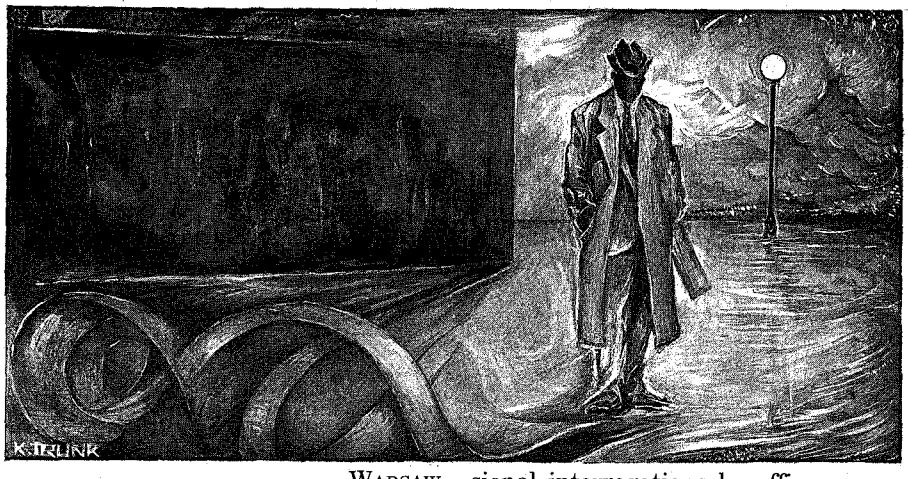
Back at the NRCC headquarters, Rollins sips a drink in his office as he goes over results with a changing crowd that includes executive director Mark Nuttle, press secretary Gary Koops, director of research and strategy Gary Maloney, and the RNC's Mary Matalin. Fresh returns dribble in, and there are a few bright spots. Reaganite Gary Franks defeated liberal Toby Moffett in Connecticut to become the first black Republican House member since 1932, and Ken Blackwell came within three thousand votes of doing the same in Ohio.

In the end, those Republicans (and Democrats) who followed Rollins's advice did well. The one man who didn't is the President himself, who has now put up Representative Don Sundquist (R., Tenn.) to challenge Rollins's boss on the committee, Representative Guy Vander Jagt (R., Mich.), as a means of getting Rollins fired. Sources say the President has further vowed never to put his name on another fund-raising letter for the NRCC so long as Rollins remains; right now this may not matter, but in the long run it's going to be hard to raise money for GOP House candidates without the President's prestige. Because Vander Jagt has said that he has no intention of getting rid of Rollins, he will probably stay for a while. But even close associates don't expect Ed Rollins to be sitting here for the 1992 elections.

But tonight, no one brings it up. Mary Matalin listens to a news summary and asks, "So, Ed, how does it feel to be right about everything?" He doesn't respond. In the Republican Party today, being right may cost you your job. □

# From Journalist to Spy Chief

RADEK SIKORSKI




Katherine Trunk

WARSAW

HOW DO you transform an organization that for half a century had been the arm of a foreign power into a loyal and effective security force? That is the task before Krzysztof Kozlowski, Poland's new interior minister and boss of the newly formed Office of State Security.

Kozlowski's only previous experience with security services was occasional interrogations by officers overseeing the Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*, on which he was a senior staff writer for thirty years. It's as if the task of overhauling the CIA, the FBI, and the Justice Department were given to George Will.

The only answer is: purge. Of 36 generals in the security forces, one remains. Majors, captains, and even a few lieutenants have their jobs. Whole departments are gone. Out of 22,000 personnel, less than half remain.

But it is just not possible to replace all of the old personnel with new recruits. "It's very difficult to decide whom to trust and who to lean on. I can't even appoint my old friends from *Tygodnik Powszechny*," says Kozlowski, "because most of them are now ministers or ambassadors. What can you do when your counterespionage department is as bad?"

We talk deep inside the Stalinist interior-ministry headquarters. Walking its dark corridors, one instinctively pricks one's ears, expecting muffled screams of interrogations in progress. The interior minister's office—a room where many a death warrant was signed—is an anti-climax: an ugly chandelier, heavy, chintz-covered furniture, and a garish yellow and blue carpet. Rather than horror, the whole exudes Kozlowski's predecessors' aggressively bad taste.

He answers one of the antiquated grey telephones on his desk: "Yes, prime minister, Russians and Rumanians are smuggling vodka into Poland on a massive scale, but there isn't much we can do. . . . Fines are too low and they're next to impossible to extract." The conversation ends abruptly.

Most of the work done by the Polish security services in the West was profitless. Poland specialized in industrial espionage, passing the results on to the Soviet Union. "And most of the restricted technologies that we once stole can now be bought legally."

There is no longer a need to spy on Polish émigrés, Radio Free Europe, or dissidents. But ruthless Polish-Soviet and Polish-Western mafias have mushroomed throughout the country. "They don't hesitate to shoot so I don't hesitate to eavesdrop." (Each tap has to be authorized by the prosecutor general.)

Likewise, some agents in Western countries are being left in place. "Poland is only starting to enter international business and Polish companies have no means of checking up on potential foreign partners. So, willy-nilly, we are having to do what in normal countries would be done by commercial secretaries at embassies or by the companies themselves. But we are phasing out our network in the West."

Today, Poland is at last free to face the real threats. "We all know that without the Ukraine the USSR is just Muscovy, no longer a superpower and

*Mr. Sikorski is* NR*'s roving correspondent.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no longer a threat to us." That's why Poland supports and hopes for Ukrainian and Lithuanian independence. But the Russians know it too. It still seems unthinkable that Gorbachev will allow Ukraine to go, but the minister notes that "the unthinkable often happens in this part of the world." If there is a Soviet civil war, Poland will be swamped by millions of refugees, which is "why we are not doing anything to accelerate the break up."

"And then, we have to think of what the Soviet Union plans for the Kaliningrad region [the northern part of former East Prussia between Poland and Lithuania]. We would perceive it as a strategic threat if this territory were handed over to Germany. The USSR denies this, but we know negotiations about this are going on."

Unlike his predecessors, who squandered a vast proportion of the national wealth on persecuting the Communist Party's political rivals, Kozlowski has no blank check. At $350 per month, his ministerial salary is only three times the national average. What he can offer for the first time is the opportunity to travel and learn abroad, previously forbidden to interior-ministry employees. A group of officers has just returned from the U.S. "If I can't pay my officers well, I can at least let them imagine themselves the colleagues of Florida cops." □

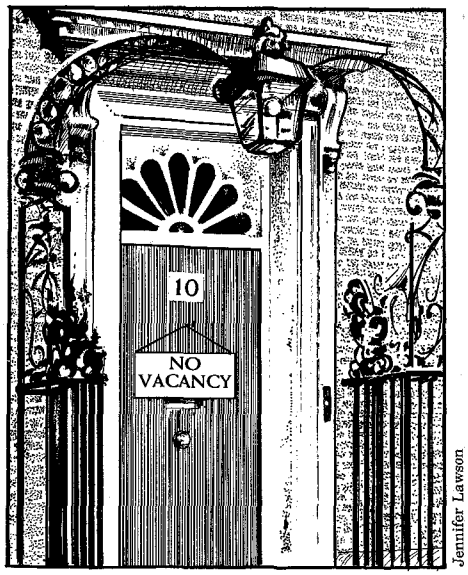
# Mrs. Thatcher *v.* Europhiles

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

LONDON

THE resignation of Sir Geoffrey Howe, Margaret Thatcher's deputy prime minister, was not in itself a crisis. But it triggered one. Like a minor seismic shock it exposed incipient cracks: and the possibility of a mighty earthquake in the political powerhouse immediately brought both the ambitious and timorous scurrying into view.

The main challenger to Mrs. Thatcher, Michael Heseltine, who resigned three years ago from the cabinet, has been biding his time, waiting an opportunity to strike without incurring fatal charges of disloyalty. He still hesitated: but events acquired their own momentum, confronting him with a fearful choice. If he failed to run against her openly now, when so many of his supporters and her enemies were urging him on, he would appear indecisive, weak, even a laughing stock; the moment might pass irrevocably. But to challenge her unsuccessfully might also be the end of his carefully nurtured hopes. And suppose he won, suppose that he replaced Mrs. Thatcher in Downing Street—and then suppose the Conservatives lost the next election and he was blamed for splitting the party at a critical stage; in that case, his would be a very transitory moment of glory. It's easy to see why he waited as long as possible to make up his mind.



Jennifer Lawson

The last two weeks have not shown British politics or the Conservative Party at their best. If one were a British soldier in the Gulf, waiting very possibly to go into action within the next few days or weeks—as the former lord chancellor, Lord Hailsham, has said—one would not be best pleased to think that the country's political leadership was being distracted in this way. Of course, it is true, as some Conservative politicians in the anti-Thatcher camp have responded, that Britain changed prime ministers during both world wars. But, in these instances, the war itself was the cause of the change. Now, although ostensibly the dispute may have started over policy towards Europe, no one seriously denies that the challenge to Mrs. Thatcher is heavily personal or personal-political; it's about election winning, and the fear of losing seats, and the hope of grasping power.

Mrs. Thatcher's enemies, both in the Conservative Party and in the opposition parties, are naturally making the most of her embarrassment. "She's finished" was the private comment of one very senior establishment figure. "This is a mortal blow to Mrs. Thatcher's government," gloated Paddy Ashdown, leader of the centrist Liberal Democrats, of Sir Geoffrey's resignation.

Sir Geoffrey, who had earlier been chancellor of the exchequer and foreign secretary, resigned almost exactly a year after the even more dramatic resignation of his successor at the treasury, Nigel Lawson. At the foreign office, he "went native" (or so Mrs. Thatcher believed), adopting the soft attitudes and emollient speech of that notoriously appeasement-minded institution. He negotiated the surrender of Hong Kong and proved a warm advocate of Britain's absorption into Europe. But his period as chancellor of the exchequer when Mrs. Thatcher first came to power is recalled with admiration. A relatively strict monetarist, he reduced a 20 per cent rate of inflation to 3 per cent, and he shocked all advocates of a controlled economy by completely abolishing exchange controls. When he left the treasury, his civil servants gave him, as a souvenir, a framed chart showing how all the economic indicators had simultaneously come right.

Margaret Thatcher and Geoffrey Howe were once friends and owed each other a great deal. But recently, they could scarcely bear to sit at the same table. The reason he gave for resigning was not the substance of what she had said about Europe, but the mood and tone in which she said it.

The small cabinet reshuffle which followed was, in some ways, quite expedient: but it has done nothing to strengthen Mrs. Thatcher's hand, and the picture of a divided government, a divided party, is electorally harmful.

The European issue divides the Conservative Party, just as it divides the country. Mrs. Thatcher, who believes in a Europe of separate member states, cooperating and trading freely

*Mr. Lejeune is NR's longtime London correspondent.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

together, with minimal loss of sovereignty, has been pushed by Conservative Europhiles, by the foreign office, not least by Geoffrey Howe, into accepting one stage after another on a road that logically ends in monetary, social, and political union.

At the Rome meeting that led to Geoffrey Howe's resignation, the dominant European partners—France and Germany, with the connivance of Italy—used grandiloquent projections of unity as a diversionary cover for their refusal to moderate much further the protectionist agricultural policy which has always been, for them, an essential feature of the Common Market. Prime Minister Thatcher said so, vigorously. No one in Britain disagreed, but the Europhiles were appalled by the vehemence of her language and her uncompromising hostility toward even the ultimate goal of federal unity. They believe in going along with the European impetus and arguing "from within" against uncongenial developments.

(Before Mrs. Thatcher succeeded in reducing the power of the trade unions, the same reasoning was used to persuade Conservatives to join a union. They could influence union policy from within. In fact, of course, they had no influence and simply found themselves tied by policies of which they disapproved.)

If the British people were asked, they would not vote now for further substantial losses of sovereignty. The Europhiles think such losses worthwhile. The Labor Party, originally opposed to the Common Market, has now adopted a pro-European stance, partly to deride Mrs. Thatcher and partly because Europe has been developing along corporatist lines. Beneath this superficial conversion, however, Labor probably contains more hard-line anti-Europeans than the Conservatives.

A good case can be made for saying that Britain's currency and economy would be safer put under the thumb of German bankers with their rooted abhorrence of inflation. But no British politician has advanced those arguments candidly: and the British public's attitude was manifested again, the other day, by a flurry of jokes about the first whiffs of garlic emerging from the generally unwanted Channel Tunnel.

Mrs. Thatcher's instincts are, as usual, more coherent and populist than the policies with which she has been, through compromise, associated. She claims to be "a good European" and she solicited fanfares over the Tunnel: but the language of which the Europhiles complain was a more accurate reflection of her feelings.

Inevitably her government appears muddled. She has been urged by the media and by Michael Heseltine to let cabinet decisions evolve more collectively. She must have a sense of being beleaguered. Many of the advisors she really trusted have gone. MPs Airey Neave and Ian Gow were killed by the IRA. The free-market economist Alan Walters she was forced to let go during the dispute with Nigel Lawson. Nicholas Ridley had to resign in July after making anti-German remarks to *The Spectator* magazine. Norman Tebbit, a former party chairman whose wife was badly injured in the Brighton Hotel bombing, chose to retire from front-line politics. There is a "No Turning Back Group" of Thatcherite MPs, but, as the name suggests, they are fighting a defensive action. Meanwhile, the polls show a huge Labor lead and two recent by-elections were heavily lost.

This may be one of the darkest, most depressing, moments of her premiership, but her characteristic response to trouble is that of Marshal Foch: "My center is giving way, my right is in retreat. Situation excellent. I shall attack." We shall see if this strategy works again as it has done so many times in the last 11 years. □

# A Lecture in Moscow

ALISTAIR HORNE

Moscow

WHEN I last visited the Soviet Union, in November 1979, I swore vigorously that I would never return. Through a blend of bureaucratic incompetence, sheer deceit, and a sharpening of the cold war following the seizure of the U.S. hostages in Teheran, my trip stalled in Moscow—all we saw here was the rehearsal for Red October Day. Sitting like robots on their self-propelled guns in freezing weather for hours on end, the troops looked terrifyingly menacing. Moscow seemed infinitely oppressive—and sinister.

This year, on the exact place where I had witnessed all those tanks, there was a huge anti-Gorbachev demonstration. Masses of police lined the street; but they were good-humored and restrained (*much* more so than riot police in Paris would have been). Looking on, as some of the demonstrators brought out old tsarist flags, was a returning *boyar*, Prince V-- from London, now resident as a merchant in Moscow. It was a scene that, in 1979, would have stretched the imagination of even a science-fiction writer.

I was in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Institute of Military History. It is located in a handsome building, up on the Lenin Hills. Its nearest U.S. equivalent might be Washington's Fort McNair, and it was no less palatial. The walls of the entrance hall are hung with dramatic (and some rather good) oils of the civil war, the Defense of Moscow in 1941, and the titanic 1943 tank battle at Kursk.

My host is the director of the Institute, Colonel-General Dmitri Antonovich Volkogonov—who is also a doctor of philosophy, professor of history, and a deputy in the new Soviet parliament. A small, compact figure in full uniform with nine rows of ribbons, just old enough to have fought in the Great Patriotic War, Volkogonov has already made quite a stir as the first post-*glasnost* biographer of Stalin. His father was one of the officers executed in the 1937 purges.

The subject of my lecture? The Russians, after six months cogitation, plumped for "The Cuban Missiles Crisis of 1962." I was delighted. Combined, inevitably, with Khrushchev's 1961 challenge to Berlin, it could hardly have been more topical—and I hoped at least the ensuing questions might throw some light on just why Khrushchev had embarked on such a mad gamble. I decided to make my theme the dangers of miscalculation leading to war—starting, *en passant*,

*Mr. Horne's official biography of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan is shortly to be published in up-dated paperback by Viking Penguin.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lisa Haney

with the Hitler–Stalin non-aggression pact of 1939, and ending with Saddam in the Gulf.

Assembled in the lecture hall were some two hundred senior officers and a sprinkling of civilians. They appeared grim-visaged, and extremely business-like. It is quite daunting, suddenly, to find yourself looking into the eyes of men who, you have been led to believe, had been out to kill you these past 45 years. I was nervous as a cat, yet they could hardly have been more friendly. I opened by mouthing a couple of sentences in dreadful Russian; then the interpreter took over. It was the first time I can recall giving a lecture, and not understanding *one single word* of what I was saying.

The questions that followed were unrestrained. Would I expand on how Hitler had "used" Stalin in August 1939? Wasn't Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech in March 1946 a miscalculation? What had been the goals of Anglo-American strategy in the cold war; and had these now been achieved? (Wry laughter.)

One officer drew general support when he asked: Wasn't Khrushchev's placing the missiles in Cuba only comparable to the U.S. "Jupiters" that had threatened them from Turkey, Italy, and Britain for the previous three years? There was more, ironic, laughter when I evoked the Monroe Doctrine. A retired admiral suggested that, well, it had saved Cuba, hadn't it? Yes, but . . . was Castro really worth risking nuclear war?

To me almost the most interesting commentary was about Colonel Penkovsky, the double agent whose information on the poor state of Soviet rocketry had helped steel Kennedy to confront Khrushchev over Cuba. In the West, there had at one time even been suggestions damning Penkovsky as a *treble* operator, and I had deliberately trailed my coat to see whether his name would provoke response.

It did. One officer (probably KGB) said he had known Penkovsky; and, yes, certainly, he had been in a position to know all the details of Soviet ballistic capability—but there was no need to make a hero of him! Laughter.

PERHAPS the best part of the day, for me, were the conversations both before and at the lunch that followed. General Volkogonov spoke uninhibitedly about the problems of writing history in the Soviet Union, still. He had seen Stalin's order condemning Trotsky to death, had tracked down the 82-year-old KGB officer responsible, and had taped many hours with him. He personally had seen most of the Stalin archives; but the rest remained in the hands of the Central Committee, and—as a committed radical—he was now regarded as the "enemy." So it had become more difficult for him to gain access.

"The Right Wing [i.e., the anti-Gorbachev Old Guard] say we are writing too much dirt." He added, "the Left say the Institute is not brave enough, but our criterion is to publish what we should not be ashamed of in 25 year's time."

I suggested Stalin's greatest crime had been to deny two generations of Russians a good economic life, through launching the cold war. Had Stalin then played his cards right, the Soviets would have been a more favored recipient of Marshall Aid than France. The generals agreed.

One Russian surprised me by regarding the 1963 Kennedy–Macmillan nuclear test ban treaty with Khrushchev as having been *the* most important of all the disarmament agreements. SALT had just followed on. Could we have reached 1990 25 years earlier, if the three leaders had remained in power, I asked? No, he replied: domestically "we had to achieve *perestroika* and *glasnost* first."

All were surprisingly hawkish about the Gulf; they could not understand why the Americans were "hanging around." They might have missed the boat; but if they moved now, for all its doveish noises, the Gorbachev government would back them squarely.

That afternoon, the editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*, Perry Worsthorne, and I tried unsuccessfully to get into the infamous Lubyanka. A friend, Lord Montgomery expostulated—"fancy you two idiots trying to get in, where other people have been trying to get out for the past seventy years!"

After two weeks traveling between Georgia and Moscow one concluded that if *perestroika* was not succeeding then at least *glasnost* was. The exchanges in Moscow had been so amazingly frank—especially when one recalled that it was not just a matter of catching up on seventy years, but that Russia, over the past seven *hundred*, had had precious little *glasnost*.

What stuck most in my mind was a remark by my host: "Maybe you are witnessing very historic days in Russia. If Ryzhkov [Gorbachev's conservative and very unpopular prime minister] wins, we may have ration cards—possibly even a dictatorship."

The prospect of a grim winter has brought angry frustrations very close to the surface. Food is so painfully short that the general's warning about ration cards may well be fulfilled. We encountered one line, an estimated four hours long, for a modest *one* pair of imported shoes.

After what a Georgian philosopher friend described to me as "seventy years of slumber," it was hard to detect prospects of the country breaking out of its infernal vicious circle to embrace anything resembling the market economy called for by Gorbachev.

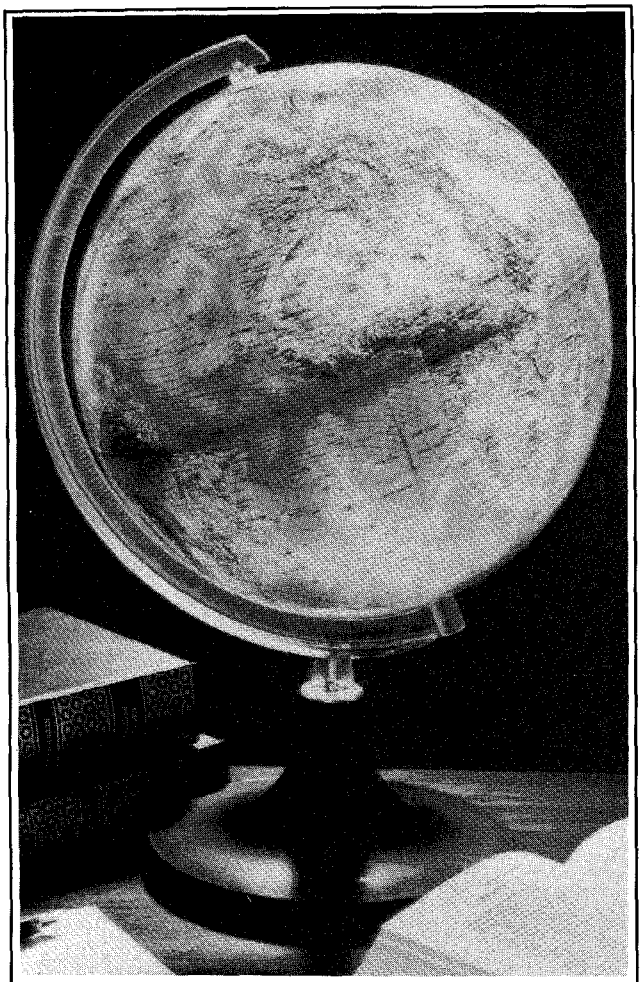
Had we been there during a new Kerensky period? Certainly, if *I* had been one of those grim generals that faced me at the Institute, I think I would be feeling puzzled and bitter at how much that had been won, with *our* blood, sweat, and tears in 1945, was now being given away—for so little tangible, material benefit. It was not a comforting thought. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# IT LIGHTS UP IN THE DARK!

## Barnes and Noble Proudly Presents MERCURY—A World Class Illuminated Globe



Turned off, the Mercury depicts land and ocean topography. Switched on, the political world, including current boundaries and international borders, is revealed in eight vivid colors.

A globe is like an encyclopedia or Bible—no educated home is complete without one. Maps are all very well and good, but only the *three-dimensionality* of a globe can accurately represent the shape and proportions of our planet—it's a 'hands-on' geographical learning aid the whole family can use.

And now your family can enjoy discovering a *new* world with the Mercury *Illuminated* Globe—an impeccably detailed, 18"tall model of our planet made in Italy by Nova Rico, the premier globe-makers of Europe.

### Two Globes in One

Exquisitely designed and perfectly executed, the *Mercury* is actually two globes in one! Before you switch it on, it offers a comprehensive view of the earth's physical surface, including its topography, elevations, vegetation patterns, ocean currents plus latitude, longitude and international date lines as well as 3,600 place names—everything from the tallest peaks to the tiniest islands!

**PRICE BREAKTHROUGH!**

**NOW ONLY $29.95**

**Suggested List $48.95**

As if all that weren't enough, switch the *Mercury* on, and its illuminated surface takes on an entirely new dimension. Here you will see the political world—the most current national boundaries and international borders—revealed *in 8 brilliant colors!* Clearly, no conventional globe can match the unique, exciting appeal of the *Mercury*.

### An Earthshaking Bargain

Now it's easier than ever to let the *Mercury* light up your home. Only Barnes & Noble is able to offer this outstanding globe—normally sold for $48.95—for the astonishingly low price of ONLY $29.95! Never before—and probably never again—will a globe of such high quality be offered at such a low price.

### Special Features of the Mercury

- Solidly constructed of durable, washable polystyrene
- Eight vibrant colors for quick identification
- Includes 25-watt bulb, 6 ft. cord. All parts UL listed.
- Reinforced welding means your globe lasts longer
- A high-quality plastic meridian and a sturdy base
- Stands an impressive 18"tall

### Don't Miss Out on This Great Offer

Have you put off buying a globe for your family or yourself? Or have you noticed that the globe you have now doesn't reflect the vast changes of recent history? If so, this is your opportunity to own a globe that is not only beautiful, but completely accurate and up-to-date as well. So don't delay—order yours today!

**Barnes & Noble Unconditional Guarantee**

You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us, for a full refund.

**CREDIT CARD CUSTOMERS CALL TOLL FREE**

**1-800-242-6657**

**CALL ANYTIME, DAY OR NIGHT**

**Barnes & Noble**

*Booksellers Since 1873*

126 FIFTH AVE
DEPT G4 94
NY, NY 10011

1430917. Please send me _____ Mercury Illuminated Globe(s) at your special sale price of only $29.95 (plus $3.00 each shipping and insurance). **Add sales tax for deliveries to CT, MA, MN, NJ, NY, PA, & CA(6%).**

Name _____

Address _____ Apt.# _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ Check ☐ Mastercard
☐ VISA ☐ American Express

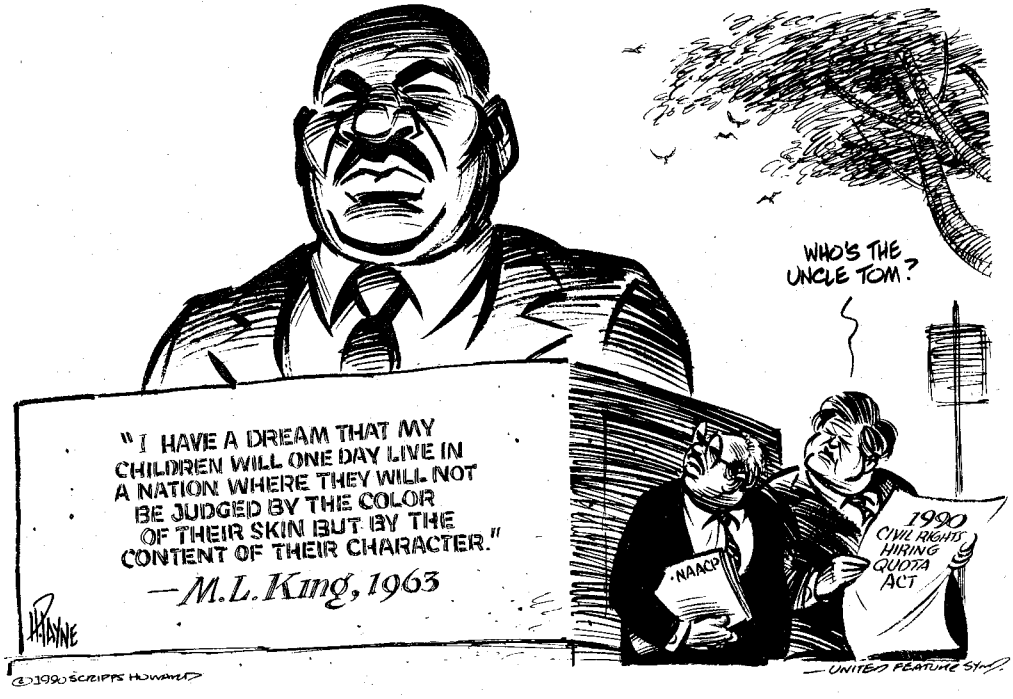
Expiration Date Month/Year ☐☐☐☐

Credit Card Number ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

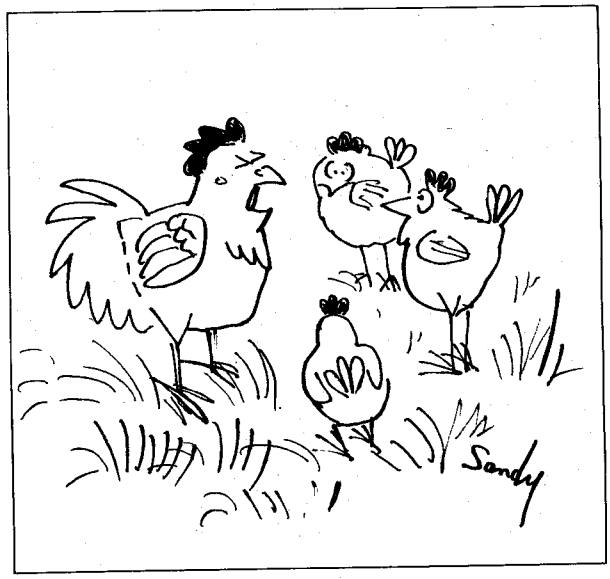
# help


"I HAVE A DREAM THAT MY CHILDREN WILL ONE DAY LIVE IN A NATION WHERE THEY WILL NOT BE JUDGED BY THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN BUT BY THE CONTENT OF THEIR CHARACTER."
—M.L. King, 1963
WHO'S THE UNCLE TOM?
NAACP
1990 CIVIL RIGHTS HIRING QUOTA ACT
©1990 SCRIPPS HOWARD
UNITED FEATURE SYN.

## *Rudy Vallee, Where Are You?*

Where the bricks yield to the ivy
  And the crews pull for old Yale
(Or old Rutgers or old Siwash),
  Campus life begins to pale
As civility and manners
  Stump the stoned or merely sloshed,
While curricula get tailored
  To appease the great unwashed.

W. H. VON DREELE




*"Your great-, great-, great-, great-grandfather was a Plymouth Rock that a Pilgrim stepped on."*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MANELY Chicago Tribune
At Home with the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize Recipient.
@#0!!
MAMA RUSSIA
OF COURSE WE'LL TALK ABOUT IT, SWEETHEART!! ...AS SOON AS I GET BACK FROM OSLO.
GORBY



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# RAINING IN THEIR HEARTS

Nuclear winter, population explosion, non-renewable resources, vanishing species—some of them are genuine problems, others are made up out of whole cloth; all are easily exploited for fun and left-wing profit.

**RONALD BAILEY**

DOOM HAUNTS the end of the twentieth century. Cocktail parties in Georgetown, Santa Monica, and Manhattan are suffused with a fin-de-millennium air. The unwary partygoer will encounter fanatics determined to avert the apocalypse through the proper rituals. If only Americans will use cloth diapers, nonphosphate detergents, cosmetics not tested on animals, and eat environmentally sound ice cream (Rainforest Crunch) from Ben and Jerry's, then maybe a few righteous souls will survive the coming holocaust.

If anyone suggests that the end is not nigh, he is treated as though he had told a Southern Baptist convention that promiscuous homosexuality is not a sin. To remind people that most commodities are cheaper than ever before in history, that worldwide the human lifespan grows ever longer, and that supplies of food grow ever more abundant is, well, impolite.

This atmosphere of catastrophe has been sustained by a cadre of professional doomsters. They have peddled their apocalypses in millions of books and scores of appearances on *Donahue*, *Oprah*, and *Geraldo*. They predict imminent nuclear, population, resource-depletion, environmental, biotechnological, and economic crises. Yet the planet still spins in its orbit and for the most part mankind continues to prosper.

These apocalypse boosters are intellectuals and policy-makers whose apocalyptic predictions are meant to frighten the public into adopting their leftist policy prescriptions. The pioneers of the genre, Doom and Gloom respectively, are Paul Ehrlich and Jay Forrester. In 1968, Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* detonated into a best-seller. Four years later, the Club of Rome published the infamous *Limits to Growth*, based on Forrester's computer models. How do they look today?

*Mr. Bailey is writing a book on environmental hysteria for St. Martin's Press.*

## *End of the World Blues*

LET'S TAKE a stroll down memory lane. In 1968 Ehrlich wrote: "The battle to feed all of humanity is over. In the 1970s the world will undergo famines—hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death in spite of any crash programs embarked on now. At this late date nothing can prevent a substantial increase in the world death rate." Of course, massive famines involving hundreds of millions of people simply didn't happen. Sadly, far too many people, especially children, did die of starvation, but on nothing like the scale predicted by Ehrlich.

A neo-Malthusian, Ehrlich is enthralled by the eighteenth-century doctrines of the Reverend Thomas Malthus. In *An Essay on Population*, published in 1798, Malthus dolefully wrote that population grows at a geometric rate while food supplies increase only at an arithmetic rate. Thus population growth would always outstrip the food supply, ensuring that some portion of mankind would starve.

Yet in the two centuries since, Malthus's predictions have proved to be spectacularly off the mark. For example: Since World War II, world grain production tripled while the world's population doubled. The leftish World Resources Institute noted: "Over the past two decades, total world food output expanded, outpacing demand. As a result, in recent years, prices of major food staples in international markets declined in real terms." Between 1972 and 1986, the prices of rice, corn, sugar,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beef, and soybeans all declined in real terms by about half; world prices for cereal grains dropped by more than half. When asked how this predictive failure came about, Ehrlich ruefully acknowledges, "I seriously underestimated the speed with which the Green Revolution would transform Third World agriculture and boost food supplies." Well, yes.

Economist Julian Simon, who has tangled with Ehrlich more than once, acerbically comments, "Every prediction that Ehrlich made has proved wrong." Simon asserts that "all trends relevant to human population are moving in a positive direction." There is more and cheaper food, more and generally cheaper mineral resources; and life expectancy has been increasing worldwide, indicating better health.

Even the trends in population growth that so alarmed Ehrlich have turned positive in the past two decades. Demographer Carl Haub of the non-profit Population Reference Bureau says the world's population will probably level off at 10 to 11 billion in the next century. "Most countries, including those in the Third World," Haub notes, "are evidencing demographic transitions to slower population growth." Indeed, industrialized countries in Europe and the U.S. are well on the way to zero population growth. The U.S. population will level off at around three hundred million. In the 1960s, just as Ehrlich was making his dire predictions, the world population growth rate peaked at 2 per cent; it has since fallen to 1.8 per cent—and continues to drop.

Twenty-two years after *The Population Bomb*, the fact that none of Ehrlich's predictions have come true has in no way harmed his career or his credibility. He was recently awarded the prestigious Crafoord Prize by the Swedish Academy and received a MacArthur Foundation "genius" grant. Ehrlich has repackaged his baleful predictions in a new book, *The Population Explosion*, published just in time for Earth Day.

How could Ehrlich be so wrong and why do so many people still believe overpopulation is a real problem? They have been seduced by what I call the "biological fallacy." He treats human beings as if we were just a clever herd of gazelles. Writes Ehrlich, "To ecologists who study animals, food and population often seem like two sides of the same coin. If too many animals are devouring it, the food supply declines; too little food, and the supply of animals declines."

Harvard demographer Nick Eberstadt responds: "One of the reasons that Ehrlich's been so wrong in his few solid predictions is that he has no understanding of or sympathy for the economic process that human beings engage in." In nature, gazelles uncontrolled by predators do occasionally overrun their pasturage and then starve when they run out of grass. Humans, unlike gazelles, have proved extraordinarily proficient at expanding the pasturage. Humans are uniquely productive creatures; unlike other species, we can increase the supply of resources available to us. And we have done so. Since 1750, the gross world product has increased more than 1,700-fold while the world's population has risen only sixfold. Let's see a gazelle herd do that!

### *When in Rome . . .*

AT ABOUT the same time Ehrlich began preaching population doom, international businessmen and academics styling themselves the Club of Rome embarked upon the task of meditating on the "predicament of mankind." The group stumbled upon MIT management professor and computer genius Jay Forrester. Using his "systems dynamics" approach, Forrester whipped up a quick computer program for the Club which proved that the "predicament of mankind" was just terrible and the end nigh.

Forrester left the popularization of his ideas to two acolytes, Dennis and Donella Meadows, whose gloss on Forrester's own *World Dynamics* became the huge best-seller *The Limits to Growth*. This spectacularly wrongheaded book popularized the notion of non-renewable resources. With a boost from the temporary success of the Arab oil embargo, *The Limits to Growth* sold millions of copies in twenty languages. Its dire forecasts were further bolstered by President Carter's Global 2000 report issued in 1980.

*The Limits to Growth*'s predictions boil down to plain old-fashioned Malthusianism. According to Forrester and the Meadowses, economic growth is forever limited by depletion of non-renewable resources, inadequate food supplies, overcrowding, and pollution. If one limit doesn't stop economic growth, then surely another will. Eighteen years later, how have Forrester's predictions stood the test of time?

On non-renewable resources, Forrester has proven to be solidly wrong. In 1972, *Limits to Growth* predicted that the world would run out of gold by 1981, mercury by 1985, tin by 1987, zinc by 1990, petroleum by 1992, and copper, lead, and natural gas by 1993.

Not quite. The U.S. Bureau of Mines now estimates that, at current rates of production, world reserves of mercury will last twenty years, tin 24 years, zinc 21 years, and copper 41 years. And these estimates don't take into account that modern manufacturing techniques are coming to rely less and less on such metals. The World Resources Institute estimates that between 1970 and 1987 the average price of all metals and minerals fell by more than 50 per cent. Proven reserves of petroleum are now expected to last fifty years, and natural gas will last 58 years at 1986 production rates. For all these minerals, new reserves are being added each year. Asked about these figures, Forrester dryly noted,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I think in retrospect that *Limits to Growth* overemphasized the material-resources side."

Forrester argued next that "overcrowding" would limit growth. In 1970, he estimated the world's population density at 69 people per square mile. By 1989, world population density had grown to 97 people per square mile. Note, however, that the population density in the tidy little country of the Netherlands is 1,123 per square mile. West Germany's is 637, and Japan's, 937. Clearly overpopulation has not made these countries poor. The much poorer Brazil has a population density of only 43 per square mile—75 per cent of the U.S. figure. At a peak world-population figure of ten billion, the average density would be 192 per square mile, far less than the current average density of Japan, France, Great Britain, West Germany, or the Netherlands.

As Nick Eberstadt notes: "People are always looking for the Iron Law of Population. Well, because population means creative, active human beings, there's no more of an Iron Law of Population than there is an Iron Law of History." If Forrester were correct, Brazil would be much richer than France and West Germany.

Forrester's fourth limit to growth is pollution. If none of the others halt a profligate humanity, then we will surely choke on our own wastes. This theme is a perennial favorite of doomsters even though the quality of air and water in the United States has improved markedly over the last twenty years. For instance, Lake Erie, which both Ehrlich and Forrester pronounced dead, is once again being fished commercially.

Yet, despite these predictive failures, Forrester remains unshakably convinced that what his computer is telling him is correct. Asked to assess *The Limits to Growth*, Forrester proudly asserted, "I think *The Limits to Growth* was an excellent piece of work that is becoming more true every day."

## *Having Their Cake and Eating It Too*

IN 1983 Jeremy Rifkin warned: "People want healthier babies, more efficient plants and animals, a better GNP, and more security for their offspring. All of which biotechnology promises." Oddly enough, however, Rifkin, a New Left veteran of anti-Viet-

## *MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT POLLUTION AND CANCER*

THE PUBLIC has numerous misconceptions about the relationship between environmental pollution and human cancer.

■ The first is that cancer rates are soaring. Cancer death rates overall in the United States (adjusted for age and smoking) have been steady or decreasing since 1950. Deaths from stomach, cervical, uterine, and rectal cancer have been decreasing; those that have been increasing are primarily lung cancer (due to smoking—as is 30 per cent of all U.S. cancer deaths), melanoma (possibly due to sunburns), and non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. Cancer is fundamentally a degenerative disease of old age, although external factors can increase cancer rates (e.g., cigarette smoking in humans) or decrease them (e.g., caloric restriction in rodents). As life expectancy continues to rise, cancer rates (unadjusted for age) also rise.

■ The second misconception is that cancer risks to humans can be assessed by high-dose animal-cancer tests. Approximately half of all chemicals—whether natural or synthetic—that have been tested in standard animal cancer tests have turned out to be carcinogenic. But each test is conducted at chronic, near-toxic doses—the maximum tolerated dose—and evidence is accumulating that it may be the high dose itself, rather than the chemical *per se*, that is the risk factor. High doses cause chronic wounding of tissues, cell death, and consequent chronic cell division of neighboring cells, which is a risk factor for cancer. At the low exposures to which humans are normally exposed, such increased cell division does not occur. So the very low levels of chemicals to which humans are exposed through water pollution or synthetic pesticide residues are likely to pose little or no cancer risks.

■ The third misconception is that human exposures to carcinogens and other toxins are nearly all to synthetic chemicals. On the contrary, the amounts of synthetic pesticide residues in plant foods are insignificant compared to those of natural pesticides produced by plants themselves. Of all dietary pesticides, 99.99 per cent are toxins produced by plants to defend themselves against fungi, insects, and other animal predators. We estimate that Americans eat about 1.5 grams of natural pesticides per person per day, which is about ten thousand times more than we consume of synthetic pesticide residues.

Even though only a small proportion of natural chemicals has been tested for carcinogenicity, half of those tested are carcinogens. Natural pesticides that are rodent "carcinogens" have been detected in numerous fruits, vegetables, herbs, and spices. In addition, cooking foods produces about two grams per person per day of burnt material that contains many rodent carcinogens and many mutagens.

■ The fourth misconception is that synthetic toxins pose greater hazards than natural toxins. The overwhelming number and weight of chemicals that humans eat are natural, and the proportion of natural chemicals that is carcinogenic when tested in both rats and mice is the same as for synthetic chemicals—roughly half. But the assumption that synthetic chemicals are inherently more hazardous has led to a bias in testing, such that synthetic chemicals ac-

*Mr. Ames is professor of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology at the University of California, Berkeley, the director of the N.I.E.H.S. Environmental Health Sciences Center, and a member of the National Academy of Sciences, Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, and the Japan Cancer Association.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nam agitation, was warning against this new scientific threat.

In the early 1970s, biologists discovered ways to transfer (recombine) genes from one organism to another. Initially a few biologists had doubts about the safety of recombining genes. *The New York Times Magazine* even published a fanciful article in which cancer-causing bacteria escaped a biotech lab and infected the general population. Rifkin saw his chance and seized it. He began organizing protests, gaining the support of the National Council of Churches and politicians like Senator Albert Gore (D., Tenn.). He filed and won several lengthy law suits to halt biotechnology experiments. Last fall, *Vanity Fair* credited Rifkin with sparking the "Great Awakening" to environmental concerns among the anguished of Hollywood.

Despite the fears of Andromeda strains being cooked up in biology laboratories, no one has gotten so much as a sniffle from any biotech product. In fact, millions have benefited from the scores of new diagnostic tests (including the diagnostic test for AIDS), and thousands of diabetics now use genetically engineered human insulin. Yet Rifkin relentlessly presses his campaign against a branch of technology that can do so much to heal the environment he idolizes.

His successes include halting the first field-test of bacteria bioengineered to prevent crops from freezing. Most recently he has scared several major supermarket chains, including Kroger and Safeway, into withdrawing milk produced from cows treated with bovine somatotropin (BST). BST boosts milk production and is completely harmless to human beings. Nevertheless, two states, Wisconsin and Minnesota, have banned BST for at least a year and bioLuddite Rifkin can claim some of the credit. (So can Wisconsin farmers alarmed at the prospect of falling milk prices.)

Rifkin objects to biotechnology on semi-mystical grounds: "Humanity seeks the elation that goes with the drive for mastery over the world. Nature offers us the sublime resignation that goes with an undifferentiated participation in the world around us." This theme of resignation to a sovereign nature, threatened by man, is one that grew stronger as the 1980s progressed.

But man posed an ever greater threat to nature in

---

count for 82 per cent of the 427 chemicals tested at high doses in both rats and mice. The natural world of chemicals has never been tested systematically. But if one ranks the carcinogenic hazards of various natural and synthetic toxins according to the results of animal cancer tests, one finds, for example, that eating one mushroom a day poses a much greater hazard from natural carcinogens than drinking a daily glass of juice made from Alar-tainted apples. (We doubt, however, that either is worth concern.)

To cite another example, both cabbage and broccoli contain a chemical whose breakdown products appear to act on the body like dioxin—one of the most feared industrial contaminants. If we compare the potential hazards, we estimate that eating a portion of broccoli daily poses a possible hazard one thousand times that of being exposed to the EPA's allowable dose of dioxin. At these low doses, it is not clear that either dioxin or the natural dioxin simulators in cabbage and broccoli are any hazard.

■ The fifth misconception is that the toxicology of man-made chemicals is different from that of natural chemicals. DDT is often viewed as the typically dangerous synthetic pesticide because it concentrates in the tissues and persists for years, being slowly released into the bloodstream. Although DDT was unusual with respect to bioconcentration, natural pesticides also bioconcentrate if they are fat soluble. Potatoes, for example, naturally contain the fat soluble neurotoxins solanine and chaconine, which can be detected in the bloodstream of all potato eaters. High levels of these have been shown to cause birth defects in rodents.

■ The sixth misconception is that correlation implies causation. Cancer clusters in small areas are expected to occur by chance alone, and epidemiology lacks the power to establish causality in these cases. It is important to show that a pollution exposure that purportedly causes a cancer cluster is significantly greater than the background of exposures to naturally occurring rodent carcinogens. *There is no persuasive evidence from either epidemiology or toxicology that pollution is a significant cause of cancer.*

■ The seventh misconception is that there are no trade-offs involved in eliminating pesticides. Plants need chemical defenses—either natural or synthetic—in order to survive pest attack. One consequence of disproportionate concern about synthetic pesticide residues is that some plant breeders are now developing more insect-resistant plants by making them higher in natural toxins.

A recent case illustrates the potential hazards. When a major grower introduced a new variety of highly insect-resistant celery into commerce, a flurry of complaints was made to the Centers for Disease Control because people who handled the celery developed rashes when exposed to sunlight. A little detective work found that the pest-resistant celery contained 6,200 parts per billion (ppb) of carcinogenic (and mutagenic) psoralens instead of the eight hundred ppb that is present in normal celery.

Synthetic pesticides have markedly lowered the cost of plant foods, thus making them more available to consumers. Eating more fruit and vegetables is thought to be the best way to lower risks from cancer and heart disease, other than giving up smoking; our vitamins, antioxidants, and fiber come from plants and are important anticarcinogens. In other words, the misperceptions outlined above don't just waste money: by making food more expensive, they waste lives. —Bruce N. Ames



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the scientific imagination of Carl Sagan. In the early 1980s, Sagan, host of PBS's *Cosmos*, introduced the notion of nuclear winter, later popularized in Jonathan Schell's book *The Fate of the Earth* and ABC's portrayal of the aftermath of a nuclear war in *The Day After*. Sagan's computer model showed that even a limited nuclear exchange would plunge the world into a smoke-filled hell from which it would never be able to recover. Hence, the superpowers, starting with the United States, should disarm until the number of nuclear weapons dropped under the threshold that would supposedly trigger nuclear winter.

Unfortunately, the only way to test Sagan's findings would be to blow up the world. The debate is largely on the level of "my model for the end of the world is better than your model." Subsequent studies have shown that a nuclear exchange would be likely to result in a nuclear "chill" but nothing like the arctic temperatures that Sagan's initial model predicted. (But lest I be accused of favoring nuclear war, please take note that the consequences of nuclear war would be horrendous, nuclear winter or no.)

One can be forgiven for harboring the suspicion that Sagan's nuclear-winter findings were timed just a bit too conveniently. In the early 1980s, the Reagan Administration was planning to modernize the United States's nuclear arsenal to meet the challenge of the Soviet Union's sustained nuclear buildup throughout the 1970s. Sagan's "scientific" findings were clearly designed to derail that effort. And they declined with the rest of the peace movement's hysteria as Reagan's policies produced Soviet accommodation and arms-control agreements.

## *If It's Not One Thing, It's Another*

FINALLY, we arrive at the latest apocalypse—global warming. In June 1988, Goddard Institute for Space Studies meteorologist James Hansen testified before Congress that he had detected a worldwide warming of about 1°F since 1880. He linked the warming to the "greenhouse effect" caused by rising levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere produced by—what else?—industrial civilization. Of course, in the 1960s and 1970s, the doomsayers had been warning of an impending ice age and blaming the impending chill on industrial civilization too. They then claimed that human activity was putting so much dust in the atmosphere that it was cooling the planet. There's just no pleasing some people.

In America, no crisis is without its literary popularizer. Bill McKibben's overwrought book, *The End of Nature*, spelled out the horrors that purportedly will attend the imminent increase in worldwide temperatures.

But McKibben's ignorance about the natural world becomes stunningly obvious when he writes: "The certainty of nature—that God's creation or Darwin's or whoever's will provide for us bountifully, *as it always has* [italics mine]—is what frees us to be fully human, to be more than gatherers of food." This is the sheerest claptrap. Until nature was at least partially tamed, humans were *only* gatherers of food. Mankind has since risen from caves and mud huts to build cathedrals, cities, art museums, libraries, computers, universities, and space stations. McKibben ignores the howling deserts, the frigid wastes, the plagues, the floods, the earthquakes, and the swarms of devouring locusts that are also part of nature. For him, nature is a replay of *Bambi*.

According to McKibben, the "greenhouse effect" spells the end of nature. Earth is doomed to heat up by as much as 10 degrees as a consequence of heedless economic growth and industrialization. He now predicts rising seas, longer droughts, more powerful hurricanes, and hotter weather. The theory is that carbon dioxide released by burning coal and oil traps the sun's heat like a greenhouse instead of letting it radiate back into space. But is Earth really warming up?

"We have no evidence whatsoever that greenhouse warming has begun," asserts MIT meteorologist Richard Lindzen. The skeptical Lindzen points out that most of the "warming" found in James Hansen's data occurred before 1940, when carbon-dioxide levels were much lower. Temperatures steadily declined from 1940 until the mid 1970s. Andrew Solow of Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute notes, "When you look at the record of climate you see this kind of fluctuation going on all the time, and to say that a few warm decades mean something significant is just ridiculous." After all, one hundred thousand years ago Chicago and New York were beneath a couple of thousand feet of ice.

The one part of the world for which we have superb temperature data—the 48 contiguous states—shows absolutely no warming trend over the past 96 years. Well, what about the hot summer of 1988? As a matter of fact, it was the third hottest summer on record. However, the whole year of 1988 was only the 17th hottest year. The first and second hottest summers—years, for that matter—were 1934 and 1936. The summer of 1989 was only the 46th hottest. Two of the coldest winters on record occurred in the past decade. And so on.

Even if the carbon dioxide being added to the atmosphere does cause some greenhouse warming, many meteorologists believe that clouds may counteract the effect and lead to cooling. Richard Lindzen believes that greenhouse-warming estimates of 10 degrees have been grossly exaggerated. He says: "I personally think it very unlikely that we will see more than a few tenths of a degree centigrade [rise] from greenhouse warming over the next century."

McKibben, like the long line of apocalypse abusers who preceded him, urges humanity to shrink from the Promethean fire of technology and to reject economic growth. We are called on to discard our distinctive capacity for reason. We should humble ourselves, becoming just one species among others, accepting equality with viruses, slugs, and rats.

But McKibben sadly predicts: "Our impulse will be to spurn the doomsayers and to press bravely ahead into some new world." We must hope so. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# DECONSTRUCTING DAVID SOUTER

He can't be worse than Brennan. But is Justice Souter really a conservative? A close reading of his testimony centers on one key phrase: "Get it right."

**TERRY EASTLAND**

"A PRESIDENT who wants to avoid a battle like mine, and most Presidents would prefer to, is likely to nominate men and women who have not written much, and certainly nothing that could be regarded as controversial." So wrote Robert Bork last year in *The Tempting of America*, proving himself a prophet. President Bush did not experience a Bork-like confirmation battle with David Souter in large part because Souter had written almost nothing, apart from his mostly unexceptional judicial opinions, and given little political offense. Coached to avoid conflict with liberals, and skilled at leaving his Senate interrogators in a state of intellectual confusion that they somehow found satisfying, Souter maneuvered his way through the Judiciary Committee, winning Senate confirmation by a 90 to 9 vote.

The Souter hearing did manage to focus on two main substantive issues—the unenumerated right of privacy and the interpretive philosophy known simply as originalism. As we await Souter's first opinions from his new vantage point, his testimony on these matters deserves review.

Since the Bork confirmation battle, judicial protection of a right of privacy not found in the text or history of the Constitution has been the central concern of Senate liberals, Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph Biden especially. Not surprisingly, the first question, asked by Biden, of David Souter during his hearing dealt with the nominee's view of such a privacy right. While Souter had not dealt with this area of the law as a state or federal judge, he apparently had studied the issue enough to respond, as he did, without hesitation. "I believe," he said, "that the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does recognize and does protect an unenumerated right of privacy."

As he explained to Biden and reiterated throughout his testimony, Souter found this unenumerated right in the history of the Constitution and the life of the nation. Those who framed and ratified the Constitution and the Bill of Rights had "a concept of limited government power which is not simply to be identified with the [textual] enumeration of those specific rights." Souter observed that in determining which unenumerated rights are fundamental and merit judicial protection, courts should "inquire into the traditions of the American people," which include but are not confined to the founding period itself.

Souter's position on privacy was essentially that of Justice John Marshall Harlan II, as Souter himself noted in his testimony. Harlan elaborated his view of the due-process clause in a dissenting opinion in 1961 in *Poe* v. *Ullman*, in which the Court dismissed a constitutional challenge to a Connecticut statute prohibiting the use of contraceptives. Four years later, of course, the Court struck down the very same statute in *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*, with Harlan filing a concurrence reflecting his *Poe* opinion.

The most powerful criticism of Harlan's (and Souter's) position has been well expressed by Bork himself in *The Tempting of America*: Harlan's methodology of searching our tradition for unenumerated rights offers "no protection against judicial imperialism." During the hearings Souter did not volunteer a response to this criticism, nor was he asked to. Furthermore, in answer to a question posed by Biden, he declined to align himself with the most recent judicial effort to provide at least some security against the worrisome prospect Bork raises.

## *Footnote for History*

LAST TERM, in his plurality opinion in one of the weirder cases to reach the Court in recent years, *Michael H.* v. *Gerald D.*, Justice Antonin Scalia wrote one of those footnotes destined for the judicial archives of major wars waged in the smallest type, in which he argued that in defining and enforcing a liberty within the due-process clause, the

*Mr. Eastland, a resident fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C., writes frequently on law, the media, and religion.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Court should be guided by "the most specific level at which a relevant tradition protecting, or denying protection to, the asserted right can be identified." General traditions, he said, "provide such imprecise guidance [that] they permit judges to dictate rather than discern the society's views," and "a rule of law that binds neither by text nor by any particular, identifiable tradition is no rule of law at all." Souter told Biden he did not agree with Scalia's footnote but rather with Justices O'Connor and Kennedy, who joined all of the Scalia opinion except for his footnote, saying they could not "foreclose the unanticipated by the prior imposition of a single mode of historical analysis."

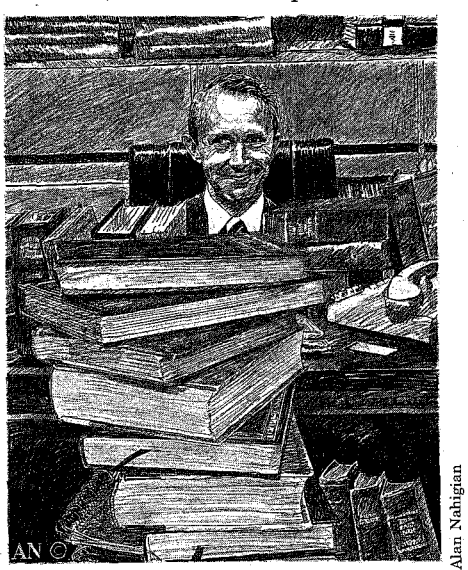
Like O'Connor and Kennedy (but unlike Scalia and Chief Justice Rehnquist, who joined every jot and footnote of the Court's opinion), Souter would be guided by a broad understanding of tradition. The question is: Just how? Souter's testimony provides grounds for a reasonable guess at the answer.

During his testimony Souter consistently refused to accept the results or opinions in *Griswold*, or in *Roe* v. *Wade*, or in any of the other modern privacy cases. His remarks went only to doctrine. And while he said there was a "core of privacy"—vouchsafed to us by "tradition"—the only specific privacy right he was willing to identify for judicial protection was marital privacy. As Souter said to Senator Leahy: "I have been careful not to endorse the specific holding of *Griswold* or its opinions, but I think I have been very clear in saying that I believe that there is a marital right to privacy. . . [It] is at the core of any privacy doctrine." It bears noting that at no point did he endorse privacy in the sense of "lifestyle" autonomy, a preoccupation of political liberalism today.

In his *Poe* dissent, Justice Harlan distinguished between the marriage relationship and other forms of conduct involving sex. Whereas the former was protected on privacy grounds, the latter—and on his list were "adultery, homosexuality, fornication, and incest"—were not. He made this distinction in accord with his reading of the American tradition: "Adultery, homosexuality, and the like are sexual intimacies which the State forbids, but the intimacy of husband and wife is necessarily an essential and accepted feature of the institution of marriage, an institution which the State not only must allow, but which always and in every age it has fostered and protected."

Had Harlan been on the Court when it decided *Roe*, it is hard to imagine him in the majority. If Souter is indeed the second coming of (the second) John Harlan, it would be equally hard, given the nuances of his confirmation testimony and his fealty to Harlan, to imagine his concluding that *Roe* was correctly decided. This does not tell us, of course, whether Souter today would vote to overturn *Roe*; considerations of precedent would be involved, as he testified. Still, Souter seems no friend to the result or the rationale of *Roe*.

Indeed, Souter seems positioned to



Alan Nahigian

line up with Justice Byron White, now the Court's senior member in terms of tenure. White wrote a concurring opinion in *Griswold* but dissented in, and has declared as recently as 1989 his willingness to overturn, *Roe*. And White wrote the Court's opinion in a 1986 case, *Bowers* v. *Hardwick*, declining to extend the right of privacy to homosexual sodomy. White's presence on the Court is a reminder that the Court does not need a Bork either to reverse *Roe* or to turn down litigants who come to the Court seeking further expansions of the privacy right to protect homosexuality, illicit drug-taking, prostitution, and who knows what else. Another White—which is to say probably Souter—will do just fine.

Given the Judiciary Committee's preoccupation with the unenumerated privacy right, one might think the Supreme Court has a docket full of cases concerning it. Not true. The Court has very few such cases, outside of abortion. And once that troubled area of the law is healed, preferably through a demise of *Roe* accomplished with Justice Souter's help, the Court will be even less bothered by privacy claims.

For all the media attention given to Souter's position on privacy, too little was paid to the nominee's rehabilitation of originalism. I say "rehabilitation" because this approach to constitutional interpretation has endured so many attacks in recent years as to suggest no nominee would dare embrace it, yet Souter did just that.

The political debate over originalism erupted in the summer of 1985 when then–Attorney General Edwin Meese offered a critique of the Court's previous term, concluding with a call for a "jurisprudence of original intention." While that speech did not spell out the content of such an approach, liberal critics went to work, seizing on the word "intention" and imputing to those who advocated originalism the view that judges are supposed to find and then enforce the specific intentions of the Framers of the Constitution. Indeed, Justice William Brennan himself, in a widely publicized speech at Georgetown University, in October 1985, called this approach "arrogance cloaked as humility." Never mind that Meese consistently disavowed this interpretation of his words; a straw man had been created. And when the Senate rejected Bork's nomination in 1987, liberal senators and commentators instructed the nation on what they took to be the meaning of the Bork battle: the death of originalism.

## *Self-Proclaimed Originalist*

DESPITE THIS quite recent history Souter repeatedly described himself as an originalist, taking care to show that his position was not the straw man's version. It is the "original meaning" or the "original understanding" of the provision in question that he would work to find and apply, he said, emphasizing that the application of original principles could not be confined to the specific objects in the minds of the Framers. As he said during one exchange, "my interpretive position is not one that original intent is controlling, but that original meaning is controlling." To illustrate his interpretive approach, Souter frequently referred to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*Brown* v. *Board of Education*, in which the Court struck down public-school segregation as a violation of the equal-protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Framers of that amendment, Souter said, did not specifically intend to eliminate public-school segregation, yet they did intend the general principle of equal treatment. When assessed in light of that principle, he continued, segregated schools violate the Constitution.

### *Setting the Record Straight*

NO SENATOR on the Judiciary Committee publicly disagreed with Souter's interpretive approach, although one—Arlen Specter—tried to tell the nominee that he could not be an originalist since he refused to accept "specific intentionalism." Souter responded, correctly, by observing that the reason Specter was "reading me out of originalism is that you are making the assumption that the only brand of originalism . . . is the brand of specific intent. And with respect, I think that . . . is not . . . so."

What might have been behind Specter's assumption was an erroneous belief that Bork was a specific intentionalist—and Specter might have wanted to distingiush Souter from Bork. During a different exchange, Senator DeConcini said Souter's views were very different from some other nominees; no doubt he had Bork in mind. In effect—and here his coaching showed—he allowed Bork to be the straw man of specific intentionalism. Yet the record shows that Souter's views on originalism parallel Bork's. In 1985, Bork wrote that the "modern judge's task" is "to determine whether [a constitutional] right applies to circumstances that did not even exist in contemplation when the Framers acted. He cannot confine himself to the specifics they had in mind, for to do so would make rights dwindle when, for example, technology changed." It is equally notable that Bork views the application of the Fourteenth Amendment to public-school segregation in precisely the same terms as does Souter.

Obviously, Robert Bork was the invisible presence in the hearing room. Yet no senator asked Souter the question Bork would have: whether the nominee's commitment to unenumerated rights is not inconsistent with his attachment to originalism. Bork would say the two are in conflict: judges should enforce only the commands of the Constitution, for that is the only source of their authority to decide cases and controversies. Souter's performance on the bench will determine the extent to which this unasked question proves important. If Souter buys into expansions of the privacy right, especially in behalf of liberal causes, conservatives will have reason to complain directly to his sponsor, President Bush. They will not, however, if Souter proves hostile to expansions beyond the marital context and generally demonstrates judicial restraint.

The latter is the far more justified surmise, for reasons already indicated as well as one other. Throughout his testimony Souter remarked on how important it was for judges to "get it right," as he put it. Not "do right," as the slogan imputed to the Warren Court held, but get "it"—the law—right. This, he said in a splendid phrase, is the "imperative for conscientious judging." It appears very much in Souter's character to apply his mind carefully to the legal materials in order to determine what they mean. He is a judge disposed to stay close to the legal ground, not to kite high above it, lifted away by the demands of ideology or the promptings of some inner voice. Souter said in his testimony that Justice Brennan's erasure of the death penalty from the Constitution is an "insupportable" reading of the document; Souter evidently understands what he said at another point in his testimony—that "bedrock activism" is "ignoring any clear and positive, objective source of law"—which in the case of the death penalty is the Constitution itself.

It bears noting that when Souter was confessing his faith in an unenumerated privacy right, a delighted Biden interrupted to say he liked "what you are saying." Robert Bork never said that, of course, and Biden didn't like the fact that he didn't. That was one reason that Bork was not confirmed. Justice Kennedy, by contrast, embraced an unenumerated privacy right. Commitment to an unenumerated right of privacy is the Democratic Senate's litmus test in the post-Bork era. But this era now includes all of the Souter testimony, and future nominees, assuming good faith, not only need go no further than Souter did regarding privacy; they may also without hesitation espouse originalism. The Souter hearing demonstrates that the liberal effort to influence the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court has reached its limits.

This President Bush should understand; indeed it should embolden him to continue to make judicial philosophy the central criterion for his selections for the Court when future vacancies arise. And as for the liberal Democrats, it is time they understood that if they do not want a conservative Court, they are going to have to elect a liberal President. □

*EUROSTATISM*

# BERD IS THE WORD

**ROBERT W. KASTEN JR.**

THE BUSH Administration has committed U.S. tax dollars to a new multilateral development bank for Eastern Europe—the Bank for European Reconstruction and Development. BERD is to be initially capitalized at $12 billion; the U.S. paid-in capital contribution is $73 million for next year alone. While the U.S. will be the largest single contributor—providing 10 per cent of the capital—the European Community will have a 51 per cent controlling majority. Under the proposed charter, 60 per cent of the BERD's funds would be earmarked for private-sector activities, and 40 per cent for governments.

Establishing this bank is a serious mistake, for the following reasons:

1. *The Bank would promote a social-*

*Mr. Kasten, a Republican senator from Wisconsin, is ranking member of the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*ist relapse in Europe's political economy*. A bank dominated by Western European countries with mixed economies cannot be expected to promote the abandonment of socialism in favor of American-style capitalism. In the last decade, Europe's high-tax, statist economies have created no net new jobs—while some 20 million new jobs were created in the low-tax, market-oriented U.S. economy.

2. *A new regional bank is unnecessary*. The record of other regional banks in promoting private-sector growth is not reassuring. Based on that record, it is not unreasonable to expect that the lion's share of BERD lending would go to applicants with good political connections in the Euro-bureaucracy.

Also, there has been no shortage of American private-sector interest in the opportunities to invest in Eastern Europe. Hungary and Czechoslovakia are already on the verge of making the transition to a market economy, and the establishment of a BERD would only prolong their transition period.

3. *BERD would promote anti-U.S. European protectionism*. Jacques Attali, president of the BERD, is a charter member of the "Fortress Europe" camp. He foresees a future global economy in which two major axes—Japan–U.S. and Russia–Europe—compete for dominance. Franz-Oliver Giesbert, editor-in-chief of *Le Figaro*, charges that the BERD is a "political gadget"; and there can be no doubt that Attali—a member of the French Socialist Party since 1973—would use this gadget to advance his dream of a European superstate.

In fact, the bank's promoters freely admit that BERD would be an integral component in linking Eastern Europe to the overall European Community 1992 (EC '92) strategy of creating this European superstate. The EC '92 Commission is headed by another French socialist, Jacques Delors, who envisions a European future of centralization, protectionism, and government intervention. This Europe would have severe restrictions both on U.S. imports and on investment opportunities for American citizens.

Attali's autocratic management style should be reason enough for the U.S. to withdraw from BERD. He wants to curb the oversight powers of the bank's board of directors, thus centralizing BERD's lending authority in his own person.

Beware: Attali seeks the establishment of BERD field offices. This will create an incentive to lend more in order to justify the continuance of a new branch. The result would be a rash of imprudent lending and a rapid increase in the cost of new branches.

This is just one example of the Attali-imposed costs that the loan recipients in Eastern Europe will have to bear. His proposals for BERD's budget have occasioned concern as well: The average payroll cost for each member of the Bank's staff of 450 is projected to be over U.S. $100,000.

BERD looks as if it will become a socialist juggernaut, to which the U.S. would contribute money but over which it would exercise very little authority. Fortunately, there are other ways to build up the Eastern European economy:

1. *To supply short-term transition aid, we should immediately create a special lending window at the World Bank*. Even under the most optimistic timetable, BERD won't be able to make its first major loan until next spring—almost two years after the overthrow of Communism.

With its low overhead costs, a special lending window would begin lending immediately. It would rely on established World Bank mechanisms avoiding pitfalls of a new bureaucracy.

The World Bank is far from perfect, but we have made progress in moving it toward market-oriented policies.

2. *The United States should act unilaterally to encourage free-market tendencies in Europe*. We should start negotiations toward the creation of a free-trade area between the U.S. and Eastern Europe. This bilateral free-trade area would give us considerable leverage over the EC as it seeks to integrate. The best way to start this free-trade process is a free-trade pact with Poland. After World War II, Germany and Japan required imports from the U.S. to stay afloat; Poland offers a similar opportunity today. A U.S.–Poland free-trade area would give Western Europeans a strong incentive to avoid protectionist policies and seek more open trade with the U.S., which would serve Eastern Europe better as well.

BERD would consign the Eastern Europeans to economic vassalage under the domination of Western Europe's public-sector mega-enterprises. When I visited Poland this fall, I found a clear desire among the business community there for a strong U.S. presence to counter the Western European socialist influence.

Eastern Europe can become an economic powerhouse like postwar Japan and Germany. But this cannot happen if its prospects for growth are sidetracked into the attempt to build a Fortress Europe based on the exclusion of America. Instead, Eastern Europe must be integrated into a liberal international trading regime as soon as possible to build a truly worthy future for its citizens. □

*ELYSIAN DIALOGUE*

# IS THE GULF AMERICA'S BUSINESS?

## A Debate Between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton

**MAURICE CRANSTON**

JEFFERSON: I remember, Hamilton, that you always wanted the United States to be a great power in the world from the very beginning of its history, but I imagine that even you would not have wished to see American forces in such numbers as we see today risking their lives in the Persian Gulf.

*Mr. Cranston is author of, among other works,* Political Dialogues.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAMILTON: I could wish for nothing better. It is good to see America leading where other nations follow.

JEFFERSON: The nation we helped to establish was not meant to be like others. It was intended to be a republican society of free men, who would have no desire for empire or for foreign wars.

HAMILTON: The United States was a large country in our time, and plainly destined to become even larger. A rich, populous, and progressive state cannot turn itself into a little citadel, like Switzerland.

## *Moat of Oceans*

JEFFERSON: America is surrounded by a vast moat in the form of oceans, so it *can* be a kind of citadel—a great and prosperous one.

HAMILTON: I never believed in that myth of a moat of oceans. And the folly of it was proved decisively on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese flew over the Pacific to bomb the fleet at Pearl Harbor.

JEFFERSON: Pearl Harbor would never have happened if America had not intervened in foreign wars.

HAMILTON: The American government tried to keep out of World War II. The country was neutral in 1941.

JEFFERSON: But it had not been neutral in World War I. When Woodrow Wilson, having been elected on a promise to keep America neutral, entered that war, it marked a turning point in American foreign policy.

HAMILTON: Would you have had Wilson ignore a threat to American interests?

JEFFERSON: He should never have sent troops to Europe. He should have directed his efforts toward promoting reconciliation between the belligerents. World War I was a disaster for all who took part in it.

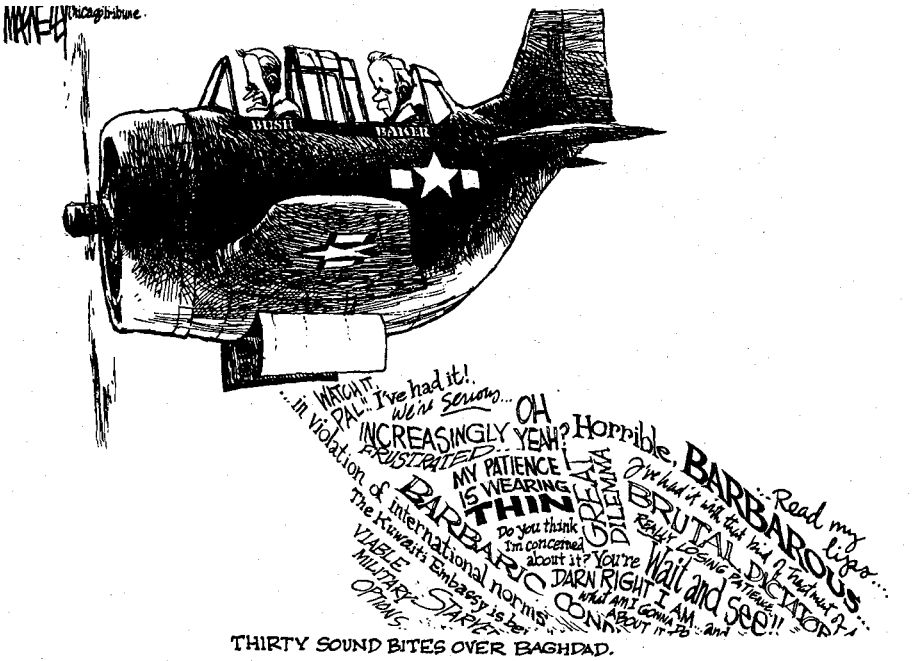
HAMILTON: All wars are disastrous to a greater or lesser degree. We must remember how much worse things might be for the country that chooses not to fight. If World War II had not occurred, America today would be part of the Thousand Year Reich of Hitler and his Japanese friends.

JEFFERSON: Of course, America had to go war in 1941. Its territory had been attacked. What we see today are Americans thousands of miles from home, not to defend America, but to defend some distant Arab principality.

HAMILTON: They are there to defend American interests: a political interest in security and order, which is as much America's interest as it is that of every other civilized state, and also an economic interest, in the free flow of oil without which American industry would slow to a halt.

JEFFERSON: America should not have an industry that is so dependent on foreign oil. You will remember that I always urged our countrymen to keep America self-sufficient. There is no need for America to be dependent on any foreign commodity.

HAMILTON: The age of agriculture was already over when you put forward such ideas. This is an age of technology, industry, and commerce—all on a global scale. Americans today cannot isolate their economy any more than their national security.


MIKE PETERS Chicago Tribune
BUSH
BAKER
...WATCH IT PAL! I've had it! We're serious... ...in violation of international norms... The Kuwaiti Embassy is her... VIABLE MILITARY OPTIONS... STARVE!
INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED... MY PATIENCE IS WEARING THIN
OH YEAH? Horrible, BARBAROUS... Read my lips... I've had it with that kind of talk! BRUTAL DICTATOR?... Wait and see!!
Do you think I'm concerned about it? You're DARN RIGHT I AM
BARBARIC
WHAT AM I GONNA DO ABOUT IT?
THIRTY SOUND BITES OVER BAGHDAD.

JEFFERSON: You continue to speak of the world as if the United States were no different from any other part of it. In the days of its foundation we thought of ourselves as setting up something unique. The American citizen, unlike the subject of a European king, was a free man, having a share in the sovereignty of the nation. He was not to be called on to march off to fight in the imperial wars that were the plague of the Old World.

HAMILTON: Wars have always been a part of human history. It was idle to think that people could enjoy perpetual peace in the New World.

JEFFERSON: It was not idle to think that people could distance themselves from the consequences of monarchy and feudalism, since America had neither of those institutions.

HAMILTON: You surely do not believe that all mankind's misfortunes are the fault of kings and noblemen.

JEFFERSON: Most wars have been; certainly the ancient Greeks and Romans achieved their greatness only after they had rid themselves of monarchs.

HAMILTON: If you want America to model itself on ancient Rome, you cannot object to the extension of its military presence overseas. Rome made the world its own.

JEFFERSON: It is the Roman republic that affords the model, not the empire. Better still, the Greek city-states offer the best example of democracy.

HAMILTON: If the progress of democracy is your aim, how can you object to America going to foreign wars to fight for it as in 1917, Korea, and Vietnam?

JEFFERSON: I doubt if one can do much for democracy by fighting foreign wars. Woodrow Wilson claimed that by going into World War I, America was making the world "safe for democracy." The outcome of that war was the introduction of totalitarian regimes which were even more antagonistic to democracy than the systems they replaced. Democracy cannot grow out of the mouths of cannons.

HAMILTON: Cannons can be effective in overcoming the enemies of democracy.

JEFFERSON: I simply do not believe that war in the Persian Gulf could



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help democracy in any way. Given the kinds of weapons that are stockpiled there, the cost in human life and suffering does not bear contemplation.

HAMILTON: It is necessary to contemplate it and to calculate it; but we must also calculate the cost of doing nothing. People in Europe shrank for several years from the cost of resisting the dictators of the 1930s. Cowardice prevailed at the League of Nations, but its leading members finally had to pay a higher price.

JEFFERSON: That was none of America's business. America had withdrawn from the League of Nations.

HAMILTON: But America made the same mistakes as the League of Nations. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1935, Americans reacted as the League of Nations reacted to the German invasion of the Rhineland. They did nothing. By the time Pearl Harbor forced them to act, Japan had become a much more formidable adversary.

JEFFERSON: You keep suggesting that Pearl Harbor was the result of America's inactivity—or what they call its isolationism. But was America really so isolationist at that time? Franklin Roosevelt obviously itched to get the United States into the international game. Even if Japan had not forced America into the war, Roosevelt would have pushed the country in.

HAMILTON: I take your view to be that America ought not to fight unless it is attacked directly.

JEFFERSON: Defensive war is really the only just war there is.

HAMILTON: It would be a very unworldly strategy that limited its defense solely to response to an attack.

JEFFERSON: What we see in the Persian Gulf today is America assuming the role of a policeman in a dispute that is none of its business.

HAMILTON: If America is enacting the role of a policeman, it is doing so as part of a common effort by the leading nations of the world to resist the aggression of Saddam Hussein.

JEFFERSON: What we actually see is a very substantial presence in the Gulf of American troops, aircraft, and ships, together with a very modest presence of French, British, Egyptian, and other forces. America's contribution to the action dwarfs all the rest.

HAMILTON: Because America can do what others cannot, it has the duty to do more.

JEFFERSON: I would derive a sense of

## *CAN THE U.S. SURVIVE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*

IT'S A SHAME Francis Fukuyama never told Saddam Hussein that History had Ended: it is now clear that our victory in the cold war, far from signaling "Endism," threw history into reverse. With all respect to President Bush, I would rewrite his United Nations speech to suggest that an old world is struggling to be reborn.

The founding generation of this republic was thoroughly accustomed to a ruthless international universe founded on *raison d'état* (the Massachusetts Puritans refused to ally themselves with Cromwell's saintly Commonwealth despite theological cousinage), but most contemporary Americans have lived only in a Manichean world where the wicked—Nazis, Communists, and Japanese aggressors—were overcome by the forces of the righteous Free World. Now, suddenly, we are supposed to rally behind an American-led coalition that would have sent even Cardinal Richelieu to prayer.

President Bush's decision to protect the Gulf militarily was the first major American commitment since August 1945 that was not ideologically reactive, not founded on a perceived need to contain the Russians.

*Mr. Roche is Olin Professor of Civilization and Foreign Affairs at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.*

Whether they would have agreed with him or not, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, and their contemporaries would have thoroughly understood. Without belaboring readers with detail, let me insert one quotation with the assurance that it typifies the views of the Fathers:

> There is on this globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. . . . The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.

Thus President Thomas Jefferson to his Paris negotiator Robert Livingston, April 18, 1802. Jefferson based his calculation on the economic importance of New Orleans, the only convenient outlet for "the produce of three-eighths of our territory," and he considered our agricultural exports to be the fundament of our power in the world: his 1807 Embargo was an ancestor of the "oil weapon." In the event, this strategy led to near disaster: in the spring of 1812 President Madison and Congress were considering war on Britain, France, or both to affirm our freedom of the seas, and wound up aligned with Napoleon. We survived only because Britain was totally exhausted and bankrupt after Waterloo.

This sort of cold calculation had its triumphs—for example, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's refusal to support Latin American independence movements doubtless eased the 1819 negotiations with Spain to acquire the Floridas. However, the important aspect of "closet diplomacy" from a present-day perspective was its total disregard of moral considerations. After all, our nation achieved its freedom thanks to aid from a papist, absolutist French monarch.

Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison lost little sleep over the moral dimension of an objective alliance with the emperor Napoleon, but the New England Federalists bitterly opposed it, and muttered about separation from the Union. The end of the war and Jackson's victory over British regulars at New Orleans two weeks after the peace sent them scurrying for cover. Finding an admitted Nixon voter in 1974 was a cinch compared with spotting a New England Federalist who later confessed to having supported disunion at the 1814-15 Hartford Convention.

This is written in a clinical, not a polemical, mode so I will avoid the frenzied arguments of the merits of "isolationism" and "internationalism": Pat Moynihan, Irving Kristol, Abe Rosenthal, and Joe Sobran can,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patriotic pride in seeing an American soldier sacrifice his life for his country. I could only weep to see him die for the Emir of Kuwait.

HAMILTON: That is not the motive for the sacrifice he may be called on to make. However far he is from home, he is still defending his homeland.

JEFFERSON: Iraq has no capacity to attack the United States.

HAMILTON: The balance of power in the world can sometimes be disturbed by relatively small states.

JEFFERSON: I have never believed in the balance of power as a formula for peace in the world.

HAMILTON: What else? Power is needed to check power.

JEFFERSON: That excellent philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau once suggested a better formula for peace—a world composed of republics each satisfied with its own boundaries and having no dependence on or obligations towards its neighbors.

HAMILTON: That is utopian fantasy.

JEFFERSON: Far from it. For the most part, the republics of the American continent, north and south, have enjoyed peace within such a framework for some two hundred years. The wars that have afflicted humanity in those centuries have not taken place in the New World. They have happened because the rulers of Europe and Asia have not been content to let others live, but have continued seeking to dominate others. Rousseau saw this, and I think he was correct, as the legacy of princely government in the Old World. It is the nature of princes to fight, and the states that princes have created cannot break the habit even when they turn themselves into republics. Americans should never have allowed themselves to be drawn into alien wars.

HAMILTON: Where America's security has been at stake, they have not been alien wars.

JEFFERSON: I speak of them as alien wars, not only because they were fought on foreign soil, but because they were alien to American ideals and principles. For people who are ruled by princes, it is a matter of great importance who that prince is. The Irish could well think it worth dying rather than exchange their subjection to King James for that to King William. But as Americans rule themselves, they can have no such motive for going to war.

at least for the time being, have that contest to themselves. What concerns me is not the morality of our intervention (which I supported) but the long-term prudential question: Will the American people support military action in defense of an abstract strategic goal? Had we not acted decisively, I am sure that Saddam Hussein would have jumped the Saudi Eastern Province and mopped up the Gulf sheikhdoms at his convenience. Now we seem stuck in a convoy that moves at the speed of the slowest ship, and the polls show that the populace is getting "crisis fatigue."

In other words, President Bush, unlike Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, is operating in a political environment characterized by "instant participation," thanks to television and other modern communications. Jackson beat Pakenham at New Orleans because neither knew the war was over; conversely, suppose President Bush learned today that Iraq had invaded Kuwait three months ago? It is singularly difficult to get excited over belated information, but that buffer is long gone.

As one whose scars ache from his support of an abstraction called Vietnamese freedom, I still believe we should intervene in defense of carefully defined strategic goals, whether ideological (the survival of free societies), geostrategic (the Caribbean, the Gulf, the Indonesian straits), or both (our defenses, notably SDI, against any potential threats from the Russian Autonomous Nuclear Republic—which, seemingly oblivious to Gorbachev's peace-loving homilies, continues to deploy and upgrade SS-24s, -25s, and -18s).

This, as the present test-case indicates, calls for patience and sophistication. Essentially, we are being asked to abjure our feverish ways (as we did successfully—for one week—in the Cuban missile crisis) and let our President, necessarily in consultation with key senators and representatives, play the hand. Mr. Bush has done a superb job of mobilizing assets and of fending off the macho nuts and air marshals (Bill Safire just got his fifth star); now let the President have the time and elbow room to consider options carefully and let Saddam Hussein make mistakes. Brent Scowcroft and Colin Powell seem admirably qualified to cope with the "let's you and him have a fight" syndrome so popular with Saudis, Kuwaitis, Syrians, and Israelis (a quaint alignment), and we have heavy metal in place (after three months) to make a further Iraqi conventional blitz impossible.

However, we must realize what is riding on the success of this American-led multinational exercise: the future role of American power in a world where (except for nukes) bipolarity is over, and Marxism–Leninism has demonstrably become the recipe for the dehumanization and pauperization of "the masses." If we accomplish our goal, we will be laying the foundation for a new version of balance of power "stability"; if we fail, the chorus of "Come Home America," led by George McGovern and Pat Buchanan, will inspire the U.S. to become the Hermit Republic.

Personally, I am appalled by both alternatives: each casts moral concerns into outer darkness. They are in fact opposite sides of the same coin, and this coinage may now become the only legal tender. *Raison d'état* permits no favorites; it favors only supposedly stable outcomes. Put starkly, John Quincy Adams is its American godfather: America "is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." Sentimental naifs like Lyndon Johnson and Ronald Reagan are the targets of cynical chuckles. For example, when LBJ was asked by a curious Aleksei Kosygin (then a Kremlin *capo*) why we supported Israel against all those Arabs and their oil, he replied simply, "Because we think it's right." I think Reagan would have echoed this sentiment, but are there any bets on how "The Bush & Baker Boys" would respond?

—JOHN P. ROCHE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAMILTON: I have never thought the distinction between a republic and a monarchy to be as radical as you make out, and I consider that Montesquieu is a better philosopher than Rousseau. He fuses elements of the republican and the monarchial systems together in what he calls "moderate government" which he opposes not only to despotic but also to utopian governments of the kind you evidently still yearn for. Your image of America as an ideal republic, uncontaminated by the conflicts of the Old World, was unrealistic enough in 1776.

JEFFERSON: In a sense it is more realistic than ever. Mr. Bush has said that the cold war is over, so that America can turn its attention to the perfection of its own democracy.

### *Perils of a Republic*

HAMILTON: I thought we had heard the last of a "peace dividend."

JEFFERSON: I am thinking of the kind of reforms that are needed for American society to be seen as exemplary. It distresses me to see how much hostility there is in the outside world towards all that America stands for. What is called American imperialism has made the U.S. unnecessarily unpopular in many parts of the world.

HAMILTON: Great powers cannot expect to be universally popular. People have an unfortunate tendency to bite the hand that feeds them. However, as Machiavelli said, it is more important to be feared than loved.

JEFFERSON: I can think of no worse teacher of morality than Machiavelli.

HAMILTON: We are not discussing domestic morality, but war and peace. Machiavelli was undoubtedly as ardent a republican as you are. He did not think liberty could be preserved by a state that shut itself up behind its walls with only the Holy Scriptures to guide its conduct.

JEFFERSON: But Machiavelli, cynical as he was, said that diplomacy was preferable to warfare.

HAMILTON: And Mr. Bush said the same thing in a speech on October 1. But diplomacy that has force behind it and does not yield to war, when it fails, is bluff.

JEFFERSON: I do not dispute the necessity from time to time of the use of force. If I were in the White House today I should not reduce our military establishment; I should simply withdraw the troops from foreign bases.

HAMILTON: If you were to be in the White House again, I only hope you would change your mind as you did when you were there the first time. When I think of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, which enlarged our boundaries to an even greater extent than even I had envisaged, and the Embargo Act of 1807, in which you ordered interference with shipping on as great a scale as anything in the Gulf today, I am encouraged to believe that however much you may be a dove in theory you would turn out to be a hawk in practice.

JEFFERSON: You may speculate as you please, Hamilton. Every man has a natural right to an opinion, and to express it. You know my record in American government, and I know yours. We never gave the country the same advice when we were alive; and we cannot be expected to do so from beyond the tomb. □

*PROTECTIONISM'S POSTER CHILD*

# IACOCCA BROKE

**TUCKER GOODRICH**

AFTER Lee Iacocca became president and then chairman of Chrysler, he began advocating a specific set of national initiatives. He became so closely associated with protectionism, participating in conferences as well as lobbying the government, that he was often mentioned as a Democratic presidential candidate in 1984.

His rise to celebrity status began in the late Seventies, when Chrysler was in dire trouble. Years of neglecting product lines had resulted in a plummeting market share, dwindling profits, and the inevitability of bankruptcy. Iacocca, ex-president of Ford, was brought in to shore things up. Unable to get private banks to finance a turnaround, he went to President Carter and Congress in search of $1.2 billion in federal loan guarantees to keep the company alive. Congress agreed, and passed the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Act.

The bailout let Chrysler market the K car, which Iacocca touted as the ultimate American success story. The K car, and the numerous models derived from it (including the minivan) put Chrysler back into the black.

But the company still didn't have an edge on the competition. Chrysler cars weren't as well built as Japanese cars: less fuel efficient, less reliable, and more expensive both to buy and run.

Iacocca seemed to think Chrysler's problem was the absence of a national industrial policy. After all, Japan was kicking his tail (to use Iacocca's lingo), and *it had* such a policy. So, quitting his Republican free-market heritage, he became an ardent advocate of Democratic industrial planning and protectionism. Lobbying for relief, Iacocca and other American automakers got the Reagan Administration to convince the Japanese to adopt "voluntary restraints" on imports—that is, do it voluntarily, or we'll force you. The quota system, the theory went, would let the American car companies "get back on their feet." But Iacocca and his new colleagues—Lane Kirkland, Robert Kuttner, Ted Kennedy, Robert Reich, and Lester Thurow—wanted more. They lobbied for energy policy that would raise the price of gas to encourage production of more energy-efficient cars, as in Japan, and restrictions limiting Japanese manufacturers to only 15 per cent of the American car market. Some of his cohorts wanted government subsidies and direct investment—pointing to NASA as an example. As a visible, popular, and seemingly successful industrialist, Iacocca became the poster child for protectionism.

As industrial planning goes, the Chrysler bailout was a success—in the short term. Chrysler began making

*Mr. Goodrich, a former editorial assistant at* NR, *works for Lehman Brothers in New York.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

huge profits and repaid its loan well before it was due. Of course, with a limited supply of Japanese cars during the Eighties boom, it should surprise no one that consumers returned to American brands, thereby boosting the domestic market. It was effectivly a multi-billion-dollar subsidy.

Meanwhile, the Japanese, led by Honda, took a two-front approach to increasing profits while obeying the quota restrictions. First, they built plants in the United States to beat the import restrictions. Then they moved up-market: selling more expensive models allowed them to increase per-car profits. The quotas temporarily altered Japanese penetration of the market. Now, however, they freely renew the restraints; Tadashi Kume, president of Honda, notes in the *New York Times*: "As a practical matter [the quotas] make no difference, none at all." The market has returned to full competition.

## *Back to the Drawing Board?*

PARTLY AS a result, Chrysler is stumbling. In fact, the picture resembles the late Seventies. Chrysler has $4.5 billion in cash, but profits, falling since 1982, were the worst ever in the last quarter of 1989, and marginal for the subsequent quarter (even with the $825-million sale of Gulfstream Aerospace). Chrysler expects an $800-million loss for 1990, and has $4 billion of debt due in 1991. One strains to imagine how it will afford its $15.3-billion capital plans. Worse still, most of the sales losses in a shrinking car market are being borne by the American and European marques, as most of the Japanese car companies have posted increases and jointly achieved a record 28 per cent of the market (from 12.8 per cent in 1978). Chrysler's position is weak: after growing slowly through the decade, its market share peaked at about 12.3 per cent of the market in 1989, but is 9 per cent, and falling, today; that's *vs.* 11.4 per cent in 1979.

Moreover, the standard by which one judges the future well-being of an automaker—models under development—doesn't indicate health. For the short term, the tactic Iacocca once used successfully for the Ford Mustang will continue: rebody old chassises and engines, call them new models, and hope no one notices. Problem is, Chrysler has been doing that, and the customers *have* noticed. It has dropped 22 models with no replacements—all existing models are based on the ten-year-old K car. Honda, on the other hand, usually offers completely new models, and rarely relies on cost-saving platforms. Honda is the best in the industry in this regard, offering completely new cars every three or four years, with the other Japanese manufacturers right behind. Chrysler's new platform, the L/H, isn't due until at least 1992. That's thirteen years after the introduction of the K car, which is now seriously outdated.

Chrysler also lags in styling, engineering, and fit-and-finish, despite Iacocca's misleading advertisements, which posit that Chrysler must be better than its Japanese competition because a poll of car owners showed it to be so. Trouble is, that poll was based on a sample of older Americans who already owned American cars. The market shows, by the straightforward test of sales, that Honda has the most popular single model (the Accord). One automotive journal, reviewing the Chrylser Daytona, remarked, "some one is paying attention at last," noting a much improved interior. The reviewer then proceeded to enumerate faults rarely found in a similar Japanese model.

Iacocca has decided to stick around past his 1991 retirement date; meanwhile top management is fleeing—including Gerald Greenwald, Iacocca's erstwhile successor. There are two likely replacements, Robert Lutz, an engineer formerly with Ford of Europe and BMW, and Robert Miller, a "bean counter" from Chrysler's financial division. Engineers, like Lutz, who is a "car guy" and highly respected in the industry, usually make the best chairmen—Honda, BMW, Ford under Don Peterson, and Mercedes, for most of its history, have had engineers running the company; GM, Ford in the Seventies, and Chrysler have had financial men in charge. As Iacocca once explained, if the bean counters "are too strong, the company won't meet the market or stay competitive." Nonetheless, Miller seems to be the annointed one.

Chrysler's extreme is the exemplar for the industry. The industry improved while the Japanese were excluded from the market, but not as much as American operations overseas (Germany, for one), where Ford and GM developed into market leaders.

Fundamentally, the problems in the American auto industry persisted. And the problem is management. Take racing, one of the most important things a car company can do. Japanese managers race their cars to improve them; American managers race for advertising purposes, or, at Chrysler, to write self-promoting books. They simply don't compete in design, efficiency, technology, or engineering. There really are no excuses. With a federally guaranteed share of the market, Detroit just had no need to beat the Japanese. So they didn't try.

## *What Now?*

THE INDUSTRY can be saved—can save itself; Chrysler, however, may be doomed. Iacocca, the economic nationalist, still wants "honest competition," so the Japanese can't "send us all [they] want and rape our market": basically, federal guarantees—"a wave of protectionism"—that he won't be beaten. Brock Yates, a leading automotive journalist, says Iacocca "sounds like a man who has run his string out, who is desperate." And indeed, as his words imply, Iacocca thinks he and Chrysler are rape victims, at the mercy of a invincible opponent.

If Iacocca were serious about fighting, we wouldn't be hearing so much from him; instead he'd be out driving Japanese cars—seeing why they are beating him, and deducing ways of fighting back. He'd be acting like a competitor, not looking for a safe market where he couldn't possibly fail.

Chrysler executives have recently been denying rumors of an impending merger between their company and the European giant Fiat. It turns out that the merger talks are now officially over—the alleged recession and Chrysler's plummeting stock price ended the talks. The most likely possibility for a merger partner now (Chrysler executives admit they need one) is . . . Mitsubishi, the huge Japanese conglomerate whose cars have been sold under the Chrysler label for years. Chrysler, remember, is the company whose chairman became famous by bashing Japan and arguing that the car industry must remain American. Perhaps Iacocca should be fitted for a kimono. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Ahab's Gold

CAROL IANNONE

ONE OF THE staples of the postmodern worldview is the insistence that the forms of civilization are nothing but arbitrary constructs without reference to any underlying or overarching reality. In literature, the sprawling formlessness of such postmodern novels as Thomas Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow* reflects the repudiation of any kind of aesthetic structure, while the stupefying accumulation of detail, typical of these novels, manifests a resistance to any kind of discrimination among the various levels of human experience. In criticism, deconstruction has become the tool by which traditional works can be vitiated of the meanings that have accrued to them so that, presumably, we may be forced to confront the raw, primitive, undifferentiated chaos upon which the fabricated order of our lives is built.

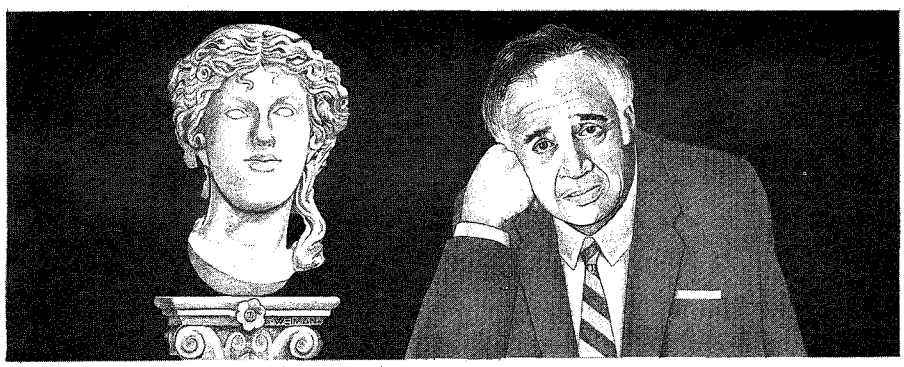
Yale critic Harold Bloom's *The Book of J* attempts this act of evisceration on the foundational work of our culture, the Bible. What Bloom is proclaiming to be "the book of J" is what Biblical scholars have termed "J," a document woven together with other texts by a masterful editor called the Redactor ("R") to form the first books of the Bible. Many scholars believe, first, that the J document is not fully isolable, so skillful was R's work, and, second, that in any event it has not been authored by a single individual; but Bloom and his translator David Rosenberg have extracted their "book of J" from its surrounding context, and Bloom claims that its author is a literary genius on the scale of Shakespeare. His extensive accompanying commentary aims to undo the effects of two millennia worth of editing and interpretation in which the "uncanny, tricky, sublime, ironic, visionary" J has been buried in the dusty moral and spiritual pieties that for Bloom constitute the rest of the Bible.

***The Book of J, translated from the Hebrew by David Rosenberg, interpreted by Harold Bloom (Grove Weidenfeld, 340 pp., $21.95)***

*Miss Iannone teaches writing and literature at New York University and is consulting editor of* Academic Questions.

Like any good deconstructionist—although he of course famously eschews the label—Bloom is more than willing to admit that his reading of J is only a fiction, if he can point out as well that *all* "our accounts of the Bible are scholarly fictions or religious fantasies." Furthermore, as one of the few deconstructionists who believes in the idea of authorship (for the others, texts arise out of impersonal forces), Bloom not only gets to invent the text, he gets to invent the writer as well; thus, on the basis of next to nothing as evidence (the existence of strong women in the story, for example), he has decided that the author of the J narrative is a woman, anticipating any objections to this "fiction" with the reminder that "each of us carries about a Shakespeare or Tolstoy or Freud who is our fiction also." While all these fictions are flying about, however, Bloom slips his deconstructionist moorings and utters a truly startling fiction that he advances as a certainty: "In proposing that J was a woman," he solemnly avers, "at least I will not be furthering the interests of any religious or ideological group," as if in 1990 the sudden discovery of a Biblical author who is female, and anti-patriarchal as well, can spring *sui generis* and nonideologically and ahistorically from Bloom's brain like Athena from the head of Zeus.

But of course the real star of this show is not J at all but Bloom himself. Reading the "book of J" sandwiched between his repetitious, rambling, pushy commentary is an experience akin to the moment in *Moby Dick* when Ahab regards the gold doubloon he has nailed to the mast and manages to see himself in every aspect of the scene depicted thereon. After he has established his fiction of the text and his fiction of the writer, Bloom begins what has been called the deconstructive "performance," in which he professes how momentous and difficult is his critical task—laboring "up Sinai all the way," bravely confronting generations of grim-faced "normative moralists and theologians," boldly seeking "a reversal of 2,500 years of institutionalized misreading," etc.



BLOOM CONTEMPLATES THE BUST OF J.

Jon Weiman

Moreover, Bloom's commentary itself reveals little intelligible interpretive method, and thus nothing emerges organically; instead, Bloom intrudes himself at every point with his often arbitrary insights and intuitions. The creation story in which Yahweh shapes man out of the clay then breathes life into his nostrils, Bloom sees as evidence of J's monism, although it seems that the story could even more readily be seen to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suggest dualism, in that body and soul appear to derive from two different substances. (But the "equation of flesh and spirit" is a necessity for deconstructionists, because any ascendancy of soul over body would represent one of the detested hierarchies that are anathema to them.)

In other interpretive tricks, Bloom often reverts to J's contemporary context (another fiction—that "she" wrote in the post-Solomonic court) to explain many aspects of the narrative; sometimes he roves outside of the J document altogether and uses something from the other Biblical strains; sometimes in places where J is silent, he supplies his own version of what he thinks is missing. And every time he comes across something enigmatic or laconic or understated or just fragmentary or incomplete, Bloom gasps at J's irony, or incommensurability, or subtlety, or comedy, or sublimity, or genius, or whatever, and reels with the enormity of his explicative task.

Between Bloom's self-congratulatory, presumptive, overstated commentary on the one hand and Rosenberg's egregious, lumpy translation on the other (in which the King James "Sara laughed within herself" becomes "within her Sarai's sides split," and Jacob's sublime "and my life is preserved" becomes "yet my flesh holds on"), J begins to look less like a long lost genius than something of a dimwit. "Her" version of the commandments is little more than a mandate for rituals and sacrifices to Yahweh. Typically, instead of respecting the other texts' superior versions, in which such practices and rituals are transmuted into the universal ethical principles of the decalogue, Bloom tries to insinuate that J's more primitive cultism is the real gem, the onerous "thou shalt nots" too obvious for a writer so subtle.

And indeed that is really all the "book of J" amounts to in the hands of Bloom, the good Nietzschean. He wants to take us "beyond good and evil," out of the house of bondage of the later moral constructs that he thinks were grafted onto the pure and undefiled reality of J, for whom, according to Bloom's fiction, the "only good" is "life, more life"—"more experience, more love, more grief, more guilt and suffering," more etc., etc. If we needed to be shown it yet again, *The Book of J* proves that there is nothing new in deconstruction. Bloom is like a man who cuts you open, and then proudly announces his discovery that you are, after all, only guts. We all know about the primitive, premoral, amoral impulses at the ground of our being; a century's worth of modernism has done its work. But we've also seen that in elevating these impulses, twentieth-century man has not advanced but regressed, and that true freedom lies in respecting laws that are higher than the human passions and the arbitrary, self-centered fictions of literary critics. □

# Trumpet of Outrage

TERRY TEACHOUT

"ANYONE who fancies himself a thinker," Samuel Lipman writes in *Arguing for Music, Arguing for Culture*, his third collection of critical essays, "should have the experience of mixing his ideas with his labor." For many years a distinguished concert pianist, Lipman has labored on behalf of American music in a variety of other ways: as music critic for *Commentary* and *The New Criterion*; as a former member of the National Council on the Arts, the advisory board of the National Endowment for the Arts; and as artistic director of the Waterloo Music Festival. Despised by those few members of the musical avant-garde who trouble themselves to read hostile criticism, he is without doubt the most important music critic in America. His power and distinction come from the fact that, like Archilochus's hedgehog, he knows one big thing and is unafraid to shout it from the rooftops: America's musical culture, like the rest of its high culture, is sick unto death.

***Arguing for Music, Arguing for Culture, by Samuel Lipman (David R. Godine, 431 pp., $24.95)***

The branch of aesthetic ideology within which Samuel Lipman operates might usefully be described as "New Criterion conservatism." Lipman, *New Criterion* editor Hilton Kramer, and their band of contributors (of which I am a sometime member) view conservatism not as a species of politics but as a larger philosophy of life and art; like T. S. Eliot, whose "old" *Criterion* is their model, they regard modernism as an essential part of the mainstream of high Western culture. Lipman thus functions not merely as a musician but as an intellectual, unlike most of this country's influential music critics, who have generally been unwilling (or unable) to relate the world of music to the larger world of art. "When push came to shove," Mr. Lipman recalls, "I found that I loved music more than I loved *making* music myself. Music was deeply connected to everything that I read or saw in our culture."

As a critic Mr. Lipman's job is twofold. He writes on occasion as a "pure" critic, in which capacity his principal achievement has been to serve as eloquent advocate for the leading American composers of the Thirties and Forties: Aaron Copland, Samuel Barber, Virgil Thomson, Gian Carlo Menotti, and their gifted contemporaries. Lipman's critical enthusiasms are superbly contagious, as is suggested by his obituary of Vladimir Horowitz:

> Not only did the individual notes he played crackle, but his characteristic rhythmic pulse was sharply etched, natural-seeming even at its most surprising, and attention-getting whether the tempo at which he was playing was fast or slow . . . when Horowitz played slowly, which in fact he often did, his characteristic fluidity of pulse so bound the notes together that the listener had little choice but to hang on each sound and breathlessly await the next.

But Lipman is also interested in the role that American cultural institutions are playing in the pollution of the musical mainstream, and *Arguing for Music* is far from the usual collection of witty *feuilletons* about how Pinky and Danny played the *Kreutzer* at Carnegie Hall last week. Indeed, comparatively little of this book is de-

*Mr. Teachout is a member of the editorial board of the* New York Daily News *and a contributing editor of* Musical America. *He is the editor of* Beyond the Boom: New Voices on American Life, Culture, and Politics *(Poseidon Press).*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voted to concert reviews. Mr. Lipman is more concerned with the state of American music as a whole: its composers and performers, the benevolent institutions that dilute it, the pseudo-artists who damage it.

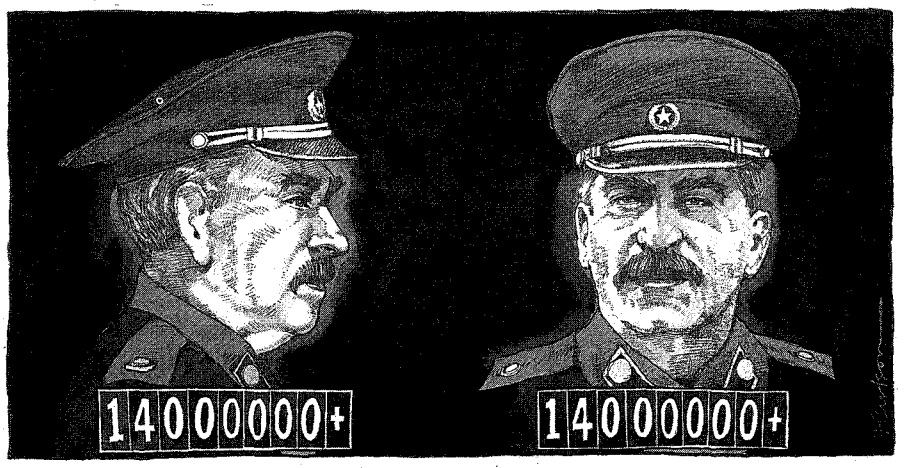
Mr. Lipman argues that public support for the arts is being used to advance the agendas of art-hating antinomians hostile to the very idea of high culture and philistines who, by watering down high culture to make it "accessible" to the largest possible audiences, conspire in its destruction. For Mr. Lipman, these two malign schools of thought converge in the loathsome activities of the Public Broadcasting System:

> In the theater, Shakespeare and schlock, both archly delivered, from England; in music, the warhorses of the European classics and American pop, both in routinized performances; in opera, the safest repertory imaginable, handled with kid gloves . . . in the visual arts, blockbuster programs rich in glib judgments and expensive travel shots. Of the history of the modern arts in America there is almost nothing; of the history of great literature, nothing; of the arts and the humanities for small but highly educated audiences, nothing; of arts education, nothing. Of the meretricious personalities in the performing arts of our day there is, however, everything.

Critics with integrity are usually doomed to play the ungrateful role of Cassandra, and one necessarily doubts that the American arts establishment will undergo any profound sea changes as a result of Samuel Lipman's loud blasts on the trumpet of outrage. On the other hand, the musical avant-garde in America and elsewhere is collapsing as quickly as the Marxism of which it is an aesthetic counterpart, and Mr. Lipman deserves more than a little credit for this. □

# Biting the Hunter's Hand

ADAM B. ULAM




Fred Carlson

ONCE AGAIN Walter Laqueur has performed a remarkable feat of historiography. Some three hundred thirty pages of text may seem hardly adequate to summarize the vast literature about Stalin, to evaluate the new information about the tyrant that has become available thanks to *glasnost*, and to fathom the meaning of the astounding historical phenomenon which was Stalinism. Yet, the author has succeeded with balance and succinctness. And the subject is not merely of historical importance. Stalin—or more precisely what Soviet society has been allowed in recent years to learn about him and his era—is a major reason why *perestroika* has turned into the present collapse of Communism.

***Stalin: The Glasnost Revelations, by Walter Laqueur (Scribner's, 382 pp., $24.95)***

In the wake of Khrushchev's revelations, the poet Aleksandr Tvardovsky wrote: "What can you put differently? What can you add? Such things did happen on this our earth." Well, you can add that Khrushchev's indictment of his erstwhile boss was still incomplete, and glossed over many of Stalin's crimes and follies. Even so, Khrushchev's colleagues decided (quite correctly from their point of view) that the Soviet system could not stand the continued flow of such revelations, and this was one of the main reasons they got rid of the garrulous Nikita.

Under Brezhnev, the regime tried strenuously to present the image of Stalin as neither god nor beast, but an "outstanding Party leader and Marxist-Leninist" who, granted, made some regrettable errors and had an unfortunate temper. Even Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking on the seventieth anniversary of the Revolution, admitted Stalin's "unforgivable crimes," but still found words of praise for his role during World War II, when Stalin allegedly displayed special talents for "organizing and disciplining people" (the latter, certainly!).

But by then Pandora's box had opened. What had already been circulating in *samizdat*, and known abroad, quickly became public knowledge, only now it was accompanied by horrendous details. The Soviet media regularly carry stories of the discovery of mass graves—victims of the terror; the grim literature on the period, headed by Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, has become available to the Soviet reader. Stalin, his henchmen, and the whole system which allowed so much horror now stand indicted before public opinion.

There are still questions about the period to which we lack complete answers. Did Stalin instigate the murder of the Party boss of Leningrad, Sergei Kirov, the event which launched the most murderous, almost surrealistic, phase of the terror (1937-39)? How could even an absolute dictator get away with the wholesale slaughter of the very instruments of his power: of the state security forces, and of the Red Army, whose officer corps, especially its upper ranks, suffered more casualties at his orders than during all the fighting in World War II? And about Stalin himself: surely only a paranoiac could have perpetrated such bloodbaths, yet how could an insane man have held absolute power for thirty years, and die of natural causes?

*Mr. Ulam, director of the Harvard University Russian Research Center, is the author of, among other books,* The Bolsheviks and Stalin: The Man and His Era.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In one's revulsion at Stalin's murderous mania, it is natural to downgrade his political and diplomatic talents. Yet, in the latter capacity, he impressed such consummate judges of the craft as Churchill and Roosevelt. Mr. Laqueur sensibly sees a basic contradiction in the way Stalin sought popularity even as he ruled through fear: "Stalin wanted . . . to be loved, and the reign of terror is not a good instrument to instill feelings of love." But politics does not always obey the canons of rationality. If one looks at Soviet society during the worst period of terror, one sees not only currents of fear but also waves of a strange exhilaration. Nadyezhda Mandelstam, the wife of the martyred poet, wrote: "We were set on our fellow man like dogs and the whole pack of us licked the hunter's hand, squealing incomprehensibly." It took more than thirty years for Stalin's spell to be exorcised, and even today the last enclaves of Stalinism have not been eliminated from Soviet life. It still clings, for instance, to the KGB, which itself still inspires, though in a form transmogrified, those Soviet citizens who are resentful of *perestroika*'s disarray, and who long for a Communist version of law and order.

As Mr. Laqueur notes, the regime has been hesitant in eradicating Stalinism. As a result, the momentum of *glasnost* has not only swept aside the last vestiges of Stalin's reputation, but is undermining the very foundations of the Soviet system. The ideological guides of the Gorbachev regime, himself included, have tried to salvage the reputation of Communism by denying an organic link between Leninism and what happened under Lenin's awesome successor; and to maintain that the Party took a wrong turn after Lenin's death, arguing it should have followed the leadership of Nikolai Bukharin. Instead, the apologists insist, the Party was beguiled by Stalin into a veritable war, through forcible collectivization, upon the peasants. Other catastrophies followed. For a while, a sort of mini-cult of Bukharin emerged, seeing him as the alleged advocate of "Communism with a human face." Yet this attempt at rewriting history could not be sustained. Bukharin, undoubtedly an attractive character in many ways, was in fact Stalin's helper in the fight against Trotsky. Though he subsequently opposed forced collectivization (and was himself an eventual victim of the great purge), Bukharin was never seriously in the running for Party leadership.

And, as was logically almost inevitable, the reaction against Stalinism has led to something unthinkable before 1988. Attacks against Lenin and Leninism, Mr. Laqueur writes, are "no longer an extraordinary event." The flood of *glasnost* threatens to engulf the last remaining ideological prop of the Soviet system. On the surface, the continuation of that system is bound up with the resolution of concrete problems: the economic crisis, and the aspirations to independence by the various national republics. But there is an even more basic problem than these: can Soviet Communism survive the confrontation with its past? □

# Hook's Legacy

RONALD RADOSH

IT IS ONE of the great ironies of our age that, as Communism has failed the world over (the seeds of rebellion having reached even the Soviet Union), opposition to Communism in the United States remains suspect. Any critical study of the role played by American Communists and fellow-travellers from the 1930s through the 1960s is seen as irrelevant and passé, as an intellectual form of "red-baiting." When Angela Davis speaks at a major university, she is referred to in the press only as a "black activist"; when a major Communist functionary dies, a *New York Times* obituary describes him as a Marxist educator and activist. One year ago, a minor imbroglio arose when columnist Tom Wicker objected to the categorization of Owen Lattimore as a pro-Communist and fellow-traveller, regarding such a depiction of the late professor's views as McCarthyism redux. After all, Lattimore is the archetypal victim of Joe McCarthy. Thus McCarthy's false assertion that Lattimore was a top Soviet agent makes irrelevant the fact that Lattimore *did* support Stalin's purge trials.

***The Cause That Failed: Communism in American Political Life, by Guenter Lewy (Oxford University Press, 352 pp., $24.95)***

It remains fashionable to be anti-anti-Communist.

Guenter Lewy has managed to put all this into context: he examines anew how our political culture moved from a realization that Communism was a menace to freedom, to the conviction that it was merely a benign form of illiberalism. Those who persisted in opposing Communism themselves came to be regarded as freedom's main enemy. Mr. Lewy begins his story by refreshing our memories about Communism's early history, and about the technique of using carefully contrived and controlled fronts, which were able to gain the cooperation of trusting liberals. Here Lewy depends on the scholarly work of Theodore Draper, Harvey Klehr, Irving Howe, and Lewis Coser.

Where Mr. Lewy's book becomes original is in its discussion of liberal anti-Communism in the postwar era—the time in which the "progressives" (and their Communist allies) ran Henry A. Wallace for President, and President Harry S Truman fervently responded to the Soviet threat. If there is a single great myth perpetrated by the Left, it is the association between Truman and McCarthy—the nonsense that Truman's anti-Communism led inexorably to the demagoguery of McCarthy. Mr. Lewy lets neither leftists nor paleoconservatives off the hook. He is clearheaded about the harm McCarthy did to anti-Communism. To the anti-anti-Communists of *The Nation*, all anti-Communism was per se witch-hunting. To NATIONAL REVIEW, McCarthyism was a defensible program of action against America's enemies, although, as Mr. Lewy points out, Bill Buckley admitted that Senator McCarthy was guilty of exaggerations. And of course conservatives were correct when they argued that, contrary to the charge of Bertrand

*Mr. Radosh teaches history at Queensborough Community College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. He is co-author of* The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth.



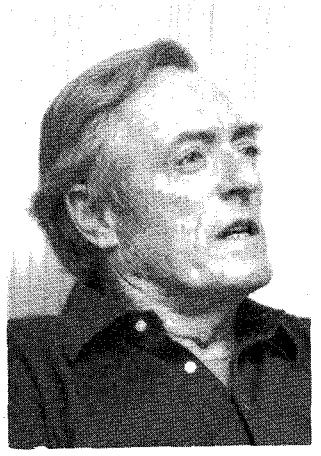
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russell and Jean Paul Sartre, America was not a police state. Nevertheless, Mr. Lewy comments, "[conservatives] paid insufficient attention to the spirit of conformity McCarthy had been able to impose upon the country. . . . They also minimized McCarthy's depravity, his use of the big lie and the reckless smear." It was, according to Mr. Lewy, the now vanishing breed of anti-Communist leftists and liberals who condemned both McCarthyism and Communism: men like James Wechsler, Sidney Hook, and Norman Thomas—all of whom recognized the threat posed to America by Soviet power, but at the same time realized that McCarthy's version of history was often wrongheaded.

With the demise of McCarthyism, however, came a revival of anti-anti-Communism. The logic, Mr. Lewy argues, was simple: "The victims and opponents of as reactionary and vicious a politician as Senator McCarthy surely could not be all bad . . . and deserved some sympathy and protection." Thus McCarthy's anti-Communism served to discredit all anti-Communism. Never having experienced the manipulative behavior of Communists, or having viewed how their line changed overnight in relation to new foreign-policy needs of Moscow, a new generation of activists began to equate all anti-Communism—even that of the, so-called, cold-war liberals—with McCarthyism. The New Left argued that cold-war liberalism led inexorably to the war in Vietnam. Indeed, refusal to make common cause with Communists was itself called McCarthyism. And the conviction that some Communists (Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs) really were traitors was proof that cold-war liberals were indistinguishable from McCarthyites.

Thus the new revisionism led from anti-anti-Communism to pro-Communism, culminating in an academic industry devoted to building up the sordid history of the American Communist Party. Acknowledging that the Party made some errors, they wrote (to quote Theodore Draper), "as if Communists were fallen angels and anti-Communists were the devil's own disciples."

Mr. Lewy does a yeoman's job exposing the new anti-anti-Communism within liberal peace groups (the SANE Nuclear Policy Committee, for example), student-activist bodies (such as the Students for a Democratic Society), and even the American Civil Liberties Union. All these groups, he shows in detail, moved away from their original programs and agendas towards a left-wing stance, and all came to accept participation and support of Communists as worthy and well advised. Even Americans for Democratic Action, originally the mainstay of liberal anti-Communism, became a part of the 1970s Popular Front. What Lewy does not sufficiently discuss is why so many of the older liberal and left anti-Communists, like Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., John Kenneth Galbraith, and Irving Howe, have today moved away from the more sensible positions they held from the 1940s through the 1960s. For instance, Professor Galbraith gave greetings a few years back to one of the last old-line Soviet-backed World Youth Festivals, and in 1988, was keynote speaker at a conference on anti-Communism at Harvard University, in which CPUSA chairman Gus Hall called anti-Communism "the biggest

# What Can This Man Teach You?

**F. R. BUCKLEY** offers an exclusive three-day Executive Seminar in Communications Skills (twelve participants maximum) specializing in teaching executives and other professionals. Taught personally by Mr. Buckley and a distinguished group of faculty members, the Buckley school offers intense training in:

- **Public Speaking**
- **Organizing Your Thoughts**
- **Selling Yourself**
- **Motivating and Persuading Others**

This exclusive executive school offers much more than we can tell you in this short space.

**For More Information Call or Write...**

The Buckley School

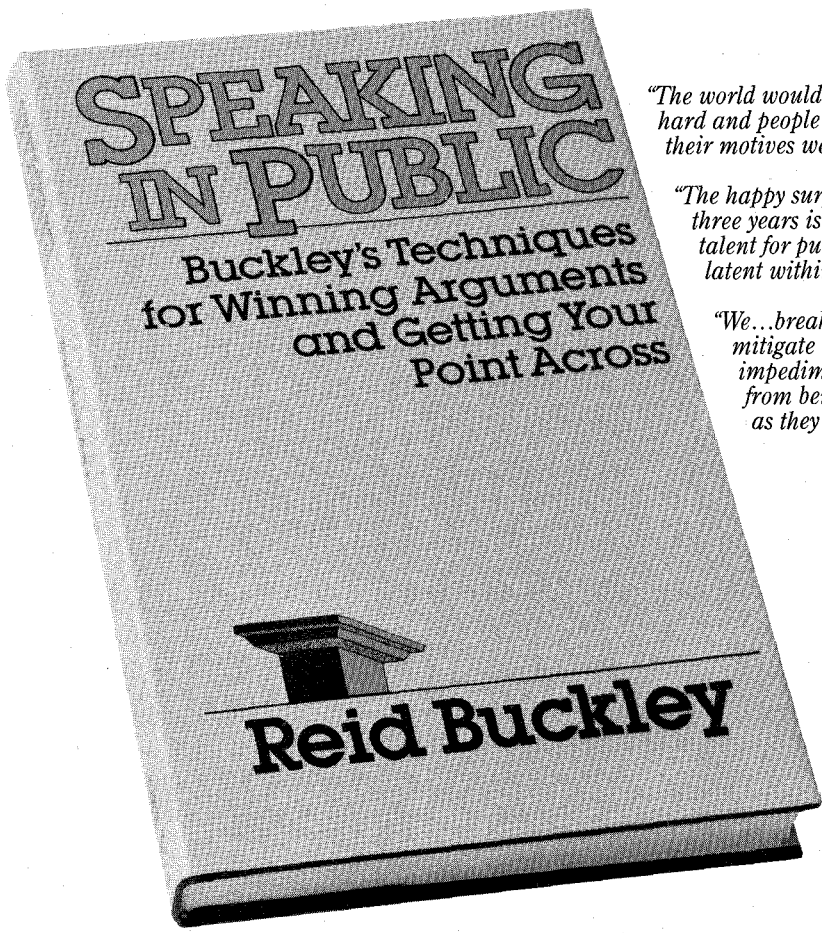
P. O. Box 874, Camden, South Carolina 29020

**(803) 425-4681**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# You too can speak in public – provided you learn how to *argue* your case.




*"The world would be simpler if facts were always hard and people so selflessly disinterested that their motives were purer than a spring. Alas."*

*"The happy surprise for us over these past three years is not how few people possess talent for public speaking, but how many – latent within them – have what it takes."*

*"We...break through rhetorical blocks and mitigate what are often psycho-emotional impediments that prevent many people from being as effective on the platform as they are capable."*

Public speaking is probably one of your greatest fears. But it needn't be that way. Surprisingly, many people possess the talent for speaking in public — from the board room, a faculty conference, a sales meeting, to an editorial or press meeting — in short, in any professional situation where you are called upon to state your case, promote an idea, or sell a product.

What's lacking is a method to unlock your talent for presenting yourself and your ideas. Until now.

Reid Buckley, founder and director of the Buckley School for Public Speaking, has written the definitive handbook for mastering the art of public speaking. It's called *Speaking In Public.*

Mr. Buckley, a master communicator, shows you how to present a viewpoint with skill, style, and flair. This new book also shows you that the essence of clear speech is clear thought. And through the methods described in the book, you too will be able to master the logical thinking that is the hallmark of effective communications.

If you are called upon to speak, either professionally or socially, to friendly or even hostile audiences, and want to do so with a feeling of self-confidence instead of dread, then this is the book for you. You too can exhibit an alert, cool, feisty, and unflappable speaking power.

Take the first step in turning one of your greatest fears into the ultimate opportunity. The power to communicate effectively. Order today.

**'My frustration watching worthy folk make blithering idiots of themselves in public moved me to found the Buckley School for Public Speaking."**
*— Reid Buckley*

**The Buckley School for Public Speaking**
P.O. Box 874; Camden, SC 29020

❑ Yes. Please rush me a copy of Reid Buckley's new book *Speaking In Public.*

❑ I've enclosed $17.95 (check or m.o. payable to: The Buckley School)

*please print*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hoax ever prepetrated against a whole people." This substantiates Mr. Lewy's observation that "a substantial segment of the American intellectual community today embraces a philosophy of anti-anti-Communism no less reflexive than the obsessive anti-Communism that [existed] in some circles during the 1950s."

Mr. Lewy ends his book with two valuable observations. First, that the decline of the New Left has led to a nostalgia for the old Communist Left and a willingness to see Communists as "good liberals" who had nothing but America's best interests at heart. The result has been fusion of the old and New Left in once dwindling groups such as the National Lawyers Guild.

Second, Mr. Lewy finds intellectuals particularly vulnerable to the totalitarian temptation. Having long ago given up on the Soviet Union, even veteran cold-war liberals seemed unable to resist endorsing the Sandinistas, whom they persistenly argued were Latin American nationalists, not Marxist–Leninists. Rather than acknowledge reality, they fell back on proclaiming their own country the all too familiar villain; the Communists as innocent victims. □

# Closer to Perfection

JAMES GARDNER

GIBBON conceived of "civilization" not merely as any stable system of beliefs, powers, and artifacts, but as a very specific order of institutionalized ideas and amenities embracing all features of life. Taking that definition of civilization, we cannot go further back in history than Athens in the Age of Pericles, the subject of Donald Kagan's latest work.

It is customary to enumerate the many debts we owe to the Athenians, the traditions of free enquiry and democratic rule, the scientific and historical method, not to mention a visual culture that has lost little of its relevance today. At the same time, this admiration is usually tempered by our awareness of other institutions for which we have no use, like slavery and an often brutal pagan cosmology, as well as by our sense of indebtedness to that other great source of our culture, the Judaeo–Christian Near East.

*Mr. Gardner writes frequently about art for* NR *and* Commentary.

***Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy, Donald Kagan (Free Press, 302 pp., $22.50)***

## RIGHT BOOKS

■ "Calm reason and alarmist environmentalism do not co-exist," writes Dixy Lee Ray, former governor of Washington and co-author with Lou Guzzo of *Trashing the Planet: How Science Can Help Us Deal with Acid Rain, Depletion of the Ozone, and Nuclear Waste (Among Other Things)* (Regnery Gateway, 206 pp., $18.95). Into today's irrational environmental debate, Governor Ray tries to instill some calm reason in the form of science.

She does not deny there are problems; that man, in building his world, has scarred his surroundings. Her worry is that debate on the issue is controlled not by scientists but by journalists and lay people, who, although genuinely concerned about the earth, tend to believe the most dire environmental scenarios.

Take, for instance, the almost mystical belief in global warming. Governor Ray contends that the popular hysteria—that as the world heats up, polar ice caps will melt, oceans will overflow, and cities will scorch—began with the testimony by NASA scientist James Hansen at a Senate hearing, in which Dr. Hansen predicted that "1988 would be the warmest year on record, unless there is some remarkable, improbable cooling the remainder of the year."

Well, according to Governor Ray, there was. She asserts that "the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean underwent a remarkable, improbable cooling—a sudden drop in temperature of seven degrees." This she attributes to La Niña, a cold ocean current (as distinguished from El Niño, the more commonly known warm ocean current), which Dr. Hansen neglected to include in his computer model.

Why, Governor Ray asks, if there have been significant increases in carbon dioxide in the geological past—well before man's industrialization—do we attribute present carbon-dioxide increases entirely to man and his machines? Nobody is certain what is causing the increase in carbon dioxide or whether nature will respond by, say, increasing plant growth, therefore taking in more $CO_2$, and concurrently expelling more oxygen. Nor do we know how the present peak in volcanic activity affects the global climate. (Pollutants produced since the beginning of the industrial revolution do not begin to equal the quantities of toxic materials spewed into the air from just three volcanoes: Krakatoa in Indonesia in 1883, Mount Katmai in Alaska in 1912, and Hekla in Iceland in 1947.)

Governor Ray is well qualified in the field. Among other government and private-sector duties, she has been chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, and an oceanographic consultant to the National Science Foundation. But her book's rather wordy subtitle is misleading: she does not tell us how science can deal with environmental problems, but rather how scientific facts have been miscommunicated, thus misleading the public with false notions and "scare stories about carcinogens lurking in everything we eat."

*Trashing the Planet* is a refreshing reprieve from the tiresome howls of doom and gloom so common to discussions of the environment. Governor Ray examines myths concerning nuclear waste, acid rain, asbestos, dioxin, pesticides, etc., and replies, Enough! Enough unsubstantiated projections; enough wild predictions; enough about global warming and toxic fish.

Governor Ray does not claim to have final answers. She demonstrates that the facts are not being disseminated rationally. And before we spend billions of dollars on the Clean Air Bill and other regulatory disasters, we should make sure that we are not needlessly stifling the economy.

—GEOFFREY MORRIS



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nevertheless, to suppose that our relation to the Greeks in general and the Athenians in specific is a series of debits and credits is to fail to appreciate a far profounder kinship. The enduring importance and appeal of Periclean Athens consists not so much in its having been a summit of civilization, as in its being the earliest moment in which we can recognize ourselves. The Athenians did not merely cause us: they were, for all the disparities, an earlier version of us, and we are a later edition of them. This sense of correspondence, of interchangeability, will be found at no earlier moment in human history.

The wonder we should feel at the spectacle of fifth-century Attica is evident in virtually every page of Professor Kagan's *Pericles of Athens and the Birth of Democracy*. Kagan, who is Sterling Professor of History and Classics at Yale, as well as dean of Yale College, is clearly an apologist for the Athenian empire, and an admirer of Pericles, who brought Athens to its zenith. "Although in our time, democracy is taken for granted," he writes, "it is in fact one of the rarest, most delicate and fragile flowers in the jungle of human experience. . . . Only in ancient Athens and in the United States so far has democracy lasted for as much as two hundred years."

Nevertheless, Kagan is conspicuously fair and candid in his discussion of the weaknesses of the Athenian state and society, and for this reason, his book provides a very useful introduction to its subject. Kagan is writing for the layman. In simple, uncluttered language, he has new things to say about the culture and the government of the Athenian state, and he is especially revealing in his discussion of such things as Athens's superb navy. He discusses how Athenian democracy, in the late sixth century, supplanted the authoritarian rule of the tyrant Pesistratus and his sons, and how, after the Persian War, Athens was paramount in Greece. Most of the book is devoted to that fifty-year period, the "pentacontaetia," between the retreat of the Persian threat and the inception of the Peloponnesian War, in which Pericles practiced his brilliant statesmanship.

Because Kagan is writing for a more general audience, he flavors his discussion with numerous parallels with modern history, especially the postwar years up to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe. And indeed, an irresistible parallel suggests itself—between the antagonism of Athens and Sparta and the cold war between America and the Soviet Union. By using propaganda and sometimes by resorting to open conflict, Athens vied with Sparta for preeminence in the shattered world that was being rebuilt after the Persian Wars, much as Russia and the United States struggled for supremacy after World War II. As in the battle between capitalism and Communism, there were the same cycles of tension and détente between Democratic Athens and Oligarchic Sparta, the same network of alliances and the same ideological non-negotiability.

Periclean Athens was not, perhaps could not be, a model democracy in the modern sense. Of the 250,000 souls in Athens and its environs, only about thirty thousand had a say in determining policy. Women were excluded from it, as were slaves, of course. Furthermore, it was a fickle institution that, for even a minor reversal of fortune, could turn upon its champions with swift and remorseless ingratitude. It was not the smallest achievement of Pericles himself to have escaped the fate of ostracism, or ten-year exile, that befell other eminent Athenians like Themistocles and Cimon. The citizens who did have the vote were often impulsive in their shifts of allegiance, and more apt to be swayed by men like Gorgias, the arch-sophist and anti-rationalist, than by Socrates. Even when they appreciated the inspired policies of a man like Pericles, their democratic impulse was often little more than an eagerness to acquiesce in the will of any man strong enough to rule them by word, if not by force.

And yet, as a political experiment, Athens is far greater for what it aspired to be than for what in fact it was. For most of human history, surely throughout the ancient Mediterranean, peoples were subject to one form or other of authoritarian control. And then suddenly there was a city that almost absurdly aspired to be, and became, a zone of freedom. Within generous restraints, men could argue and act as they wished. This was not


La France EN CASSETTES

This holiday season, delight your favorite Francophile with a gift of *Champs-Elysées*, the monthly audiomagazine that's like listening to the radio in France. It's a great way to keep up with the latest news from France and a lovely compliment to someone who's achieved proficiency in French. Produced in Paris by Georges Lang, one of Europe's best-known broadcasters, each hour-long edition includes interviews, music, and conversation about current events, travel, and the arts. A word-for-word transcription comes with each tape, complete with a French-English glossary and extensive cultural notes. Study supplements, priced separately, help maintain or improve listening comprehension with exercises based on selected program segments.

Champs-Elysées

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE
Take 30 days to review your first tape. If you're not completely satisfied with the program, call for a full refund.

© Champs-Elysées, Inc. • 2000 Glen Echo Rd. • Suite 205 • Nashville, TN 37215

FOR FASTER SERVICE, ORDER BY CREDIT CARD
1-800-824-0829
(VISA AND MASTERCARD ACCEPTED)

Send check or money order to *Champs-Elysées*
Dept. BF • P.O. Box 158067 • Nashville, TN 37215-8067

☐ 5 editions ($69) ☐ 11 editions ($118)
☐ Study supplement ($20) ☐ Study supplement ($44)
*Tennessee residents add 7.75% sales tax*

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merely a great step forward for civilization, it was, in a very real sense, the beginning of civilization. It needed only a bill of rights and a more prudent delegation of powers, as America's Founders realized when they brought government a little closer to its final perfection. □

## FILM

# Difficult Crossings

JOHN SIMON

THE INFANTILIZATION of the American cinema proceeds apace, with ***Miller's Crossing*** a prime exhibit. Made by the two successful young filmmakers Joel and Ethan Coen as their first truly big-budget film, this is a fine example of what rock-bottom film-school experience combined with high-level pretension can do when propped up with extensive, expensive hype.

*Miller's Crossing* is trumpery down to its very title, ostensibly the name of a spot in the woods outside an unnamed city in the Twenties where gang-style executions take place. Since the spot, as shown in the movie, has nothing to differentiate it from another part of the forest, there is no reason for its picturesque name or for its serving for anything more than family picnics. But the birches are tall and provide this tall tale's cinematographer, Barry Sonnenfeld, with many a moody low-angle shot from the point of view of some luckless hood catching his last sight of daylight through a latticework of leaves as he is marched off to his summary quietus.

It is in fact the camera work, backed up by production design and costuming, that wags the entire atmosphere-heavy and content-depleted picture. Sonnenfeld gives everything, indoors or out, a nicely burnished look, as if things and people were all made of weather-beaten leather and smoke-stained wood paneling, which are indeed the prime ingredients of crime overlords' offices and bars *cum* gambling dens, where the low-saturated colors complement insatiable greed. The time, when we are not in the darkling woods or under overcast city skies, is usually late, or the space windowless, so that chiaroscuro can supply the mystery and menace the writing and directing lack.

The story is simplistic: an Irish gang versus an Italian mob with a petty Jewish crook, Bennie, in the middle. Leo, the Irish crime boss, protects Bennie because he is carrying on with Bennie's sister, the tough, sexy Verna. But Bennie, a dishonest bookie, has fallen afoul of Johnny, the Italian gang leader, and Leo's refusal to hand him over starts a gang war. Matters are complicated by Verna's also being involved—and in love—with Tom, a romantically sodden and relentlessly brooding Irishman, Leo's chief advisor. Though he enjoys sex with Verna, Tom seems to care more about Leo, albeit in some twisted, tormented way, which appears to make him enjoy being beaten up by Leo when he confesses to being Verna's lover. But, then, Tom is always getting beaten up brutally, though he never has more than a slightly cut lip to show for it.

The total corruption of the mayor and chief of police; a homosexual triangle involving Johnny's vicious bodyguard, Eddie, the aforesaid Bennie, and Mink, the manager of Leo's gambling den; various raids by the police and rival gangs that are staged (inadvertently) like comic strips; Tom and Verna's love-making that bristles with hostility but has a soft core of mush; these and other strands are presented with a mixture of cinémathèque derivativeness and sophomoric posturing, and hardly one believably conceived character.

Typical is a nocturnal attack on Leo in his lair by machine-gun-wielding goons, which Leo thwarts. Hiding under his bed and armed with a mere handgun, he is invulnerable; he wastes all those machine gunners, lowers himself from the window of his now-burning house, gives chase on foot to the remaining goons speeding away in a car and firing at him from its windows. He, too, has acquired an automatic weapon; though fully exposed, he remains unscathed as he causes the getaway car to be driven into a tree and explode. Then he sticks the lighted cigar he has been smoking in bed back in his mouth (where was it when he jumped from his window?) and puffs away in unison with his smoking gun.

The scene epitomizes the mindless gangster-worship, complete disjunction from reality, and bang-bang-you're-dead mentality of the Coen brothers, who co-script what Joel then directs and Ethan produces. Their previous efforts, *Blood Simple* and *Raising Arizona*, struck me as similarly gross and simple-minded, and I cherish the comment of *The Village Voice*'s Gary Giddins that the Coens remind him of Professor Fleeber's students in *The Freshman*, a send-up of the New York University Film School. The Coens are indeed graduates of that institution, with their minds preserved in a sophomoric self-assurance more powerful than formaldehyde.

## NOW SHOWING

***The Freshman*** is an equation of unknowns. Brando's craft is less the actor's than the taxidermist's.

***Mo' Better Blues*** has formulaic storytelling, maniacal parallelism, and heavy-handed symmetry.

***Presumed Innocent*** is not up to the book. Harrison Ford looks more and more like an Edsel.

***Pretty Woman***, starring Richard Gere and Julia Roberts, has to be seen to be disbelieved. The film is about golden-hearted whores who become honest, married lovers.

***The Two Jakes*** glories in its deviousness and inscrutability. Jack Nicholson is no Roman Polanski.

***Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down!*** is Beauty and the Beast. Almodovar was more wholesome than usual.

***Wild at Heart*** is a cul-de-sac of a road movie in which nothing leads anywhere or makes the barest minimum of sense. —JOHN SIMON



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alan Nahigian

*The Coen Brothers*

Albert Finney, a true actor, does whatever can be done for Leo, and even sounds convincingly American. Gabriel Byrne, as Tom, with a sticky-thick Irish brogue and eyes so close together William Tell couldn't shoot him between them, nurses his melancholy like a lush his closing-time drink. Marcia Gay Harden, a rather expressionless Verna, nevertheless has an unwashed, animalistic appeal; Jon Polito's comic-sinister Johnny, with his disquisitions on "etics" [sic], which seem to slay the Coens, oozes excess; J. E. Freeman is horror-film scary as Eddie. But John Turturro, though in danger of repeating himself, gives a genuinely chilling performance as Bernie; he finds the exact middle path between whining spinelessness and crazed bestiality. But the film is a hopeless cliché, even about who survives in the end and who doesn't.

■ No less distasteful in its own way is the ludicrous ***Henry & June***, based on the recently published unexpurgated diaries of Anaïs Nin and the, so we are told, "autobiographical novels" of Henry Miller. Directed by Philip Kaufman and scripted by himself and his wife, Rose, it was produced by Kaufman *fils*, Peter.

The Kaufmans are as much a cinematic cottage industry in today's San Francisco as Henry Miller and Anaïs Nin were an erotic-autobiographical one in the Paris of the early 1930s. Though Anaïs was not unhappily married to a nice, rich Boston banker, Hugo Guiler, she remained unfulfilled until her affair with Miller, a sort of one-man diapason of expatriate Americanism, and with Miller's ex-taxi-dancer wife, June, who would drop in for brief stays before high-tailing it back to New York and other entanglements.

However incontinent, prolix, and repetitious, Henry Miller was a writer. In the very American tradition of Dreiser and Wolfe, he lacked economy and shapeliness, but, unlike them, had a nonparochial outlook and a sense of humor. Yet his books are not filmable (cf. *Tropic of Cancer* and *Quiet Days in Clichy*) because what makes Miller's writing interesting is not the bohemian excesses, but the translation of world into word, the very thing the camera cannot render.

What the Kaufmans have foolishly done is to swallow Anaïs Nin whole. She, unlike Miller, was no writer, but a self-absorbed, self-important gusher. To read Nin is to be a spectator at a masturbation marathon, where instead of a field of runners we get a single self-enamored dawdler in a miasma of clammy self-regard. And that's what infests both the visual and verbal aspects of this gee-whiz movie, in which reverence for the ninny Nin is swathed in wide-eyed shlurpings of sophomoric sex. The presposterous rat-a-tat of the Coens's toy machine guns corresponds here to the endless thrashings and wallowings of heterosexual or lesbian lovers, filmed without an ounce of imagination, genuine eroticism, or aesthetic sensibility.

Thus we get Maria de Medeiros, a Portuguese-born French actress, who, though she can't act much, manages the remarkable feat of being physically even more off-putting than Nin, whom she does, indeed, resemble. (The one time I met the prototype, I was suffocated in equal measure by her vapidity and unsightliness.) To have to hear through much of the film Nin's voiceover effusions ("Last night I wept, I wept because the process by which I have become a woman was painful. I wept because I was no longer a child . . . I wept because I could not believe any more, and I love to believe. . . . I wept because from now on I will weep less. I wept because I have lost my pain and I am not yet accustomed to its absence. . . .") while watching de Medeiros's deconstructed-Kewpie doll face—over-sized and deliquescent saucer eyes, nasty


**The Most Flattering Gift For Students of German**

If family members or friends on your gift list speak German, give them *Schau ins Land*, the German audiomagazine published especially for intermediate and advanced students of German. Produced once a month by a team of German, Austrian, and Swiss broadcasters, each hour-long edition is packed with features on current events, the arts, travel, and local history and customs, plus selections of today's best German music. Every cassette comes with a word-for-word printed transcription, including an extensive German-English glossary and informative cultural notes. Study supplements, priced separately, help improve listening comprehension with exercises based on selected program segments.

Schau ins Land

**MONEY BACK GUARANTEE**
Take 30 days to examine your first tape. If you're not completely satisfied with the program, call for a full refund.

© Champs-Elysées, Inc. • 2000 Glen Echo Rd. • Suite 205 • Nashville, TN 37215

FOR FASTER SERVICE, ORDER BY CREDIT CARD
1-800-824-0829
(VISA AND MASTERCARD ACCEPTED)

Send check or money order to *Schau ins Land*
Dept. BG • P.O. Box 158067
Nashville, TN 37215-8067

☐ 5 editions ($69) ☐ 11 editions ($118)
☐ Study supplement ($20) ☐ Study supplement ($44)
*Tennessee residents add 7.75% sales tax*

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little pointy chin, nastier huge pointy beak—exude mimosaceousness all over the place is exquisite torture.

June is played by Uma Thurman, who looks like a slightly sexier Elsie the Cow, and whose acting consists of either skulking or stripping, and a Brooklyn accent so bad I thought she must be English till I learned she grew up in New York. The film allows the two women oodles of heavy-breathing foreplay but no consummation. That is reserved for Anaïs and Henry's even heavier-breathing, protracted and recurrent tumbles, lacking, however, any of the *joie de vivre* of Henry's prose. We get a lot of lip-smacking ogling of indistinct bodies weltering, with even more careful ogling of the rating board, so as not to forfeit its new adult rating, NC-17. Along with this, Nin's nauseating prattle about "innocence," about how "innocent' sexual experimentation and lesbian epiphanies make her feel. Sex becomes a kind of alternative Sunday school for self-righteous liberals, a posture the Kaufmans assume with exemplary sanctimony.

Heavy breathing, combined with sensitive nostril flaring, reaches its apogee when, in quest of greater liberation, Anaïs and spouse visit a brothel for a lesbian exhibition by two unprepossessing but heuristic whores—one of whom looks like June, the other like Anaïs—which turns on Hugo and sends Anaïs into ecstasies of self-recognition and heightened innocence. The sex scene is of the kind one gets in soft-core porn houses that liberally display self-awarded XXX ratings. Other scenes, intended as a cross-section of colorful life among Parisian bohemia, remind me in their naïve clumsiness of nothing so much as Alan Rudolph's near-imbecile *The Moderns*. Fred Ward, one of Pauline Kael's favorite San Franciscans (Phil Kaufman is another) plays Miller with a slightly better Brooklyn accent, an unpersuasive bald patch, and a conspiratorial smirk consisting of a tilted head in which the lower eye crinkles up more than the upper one.

I have no idea why Miss Kael did not herself review the movie in *The New Yorker*, unless it was to allow her henchman and clone, Terrence Rafferty, to show how well he has mastered her technique as he turns near-loss of balance into a "sense of precariousness [that] makes watching *Henry & June* so exciting" and provides "stimulating unease [that] carries over into our reflections" after we leave the theater. Actually, with their over-lapping Millers, the Coens and the Kaufmans manage to give "family picture" a new and worse meaning. □

## THEATER

# The Chic of the New

EVA RESNIKOVA

WHEN AN issue becomes the subject of the lead article in the Sunday *New York Times* Arts & Leisure section, you can be fairly certain that the purported controversy had long ago been exhaustively dissected and dismissed in the real world. Such was the case with *Times* cultural reporter Richard Bernstein's September 30 investigation into the current state of experimental art, which posed the question: "Is there an avant-garde at all these days?" and, in typical fence-straddling *Times* fashion, came up with the less-than-illuminating reply, "Probably yes." (Even the headlines refused to take a stand, the page-one banner firmly stating, "Why the Cutting Edge Has Lost Its Bite," the continuation meekly inquiring, "Has the Avant-Garde Lost Its Bite?")

What causes Mr. Bernstein to question the very existence of a contemporary avant-garde seems to have less to do with the art itself than with the fact that those who consider themselves "cultural rebels" accept financial support from the "establishment" and perform at "mainstream" venues. But the canard of the supposed hostility of the middle classes to avant-garde art was laid to rest long ago. Robert Hughes, in his 1981 history of modern art, *The Shock of the New*, traces the roots of the avant-garde to the change in patronage between the *anciens régimes*, with their centralization of acceptable taste, and the free-market equivalent in the nineteenth-century French *salon*, with its "veritable Babel of competing images, styles, and manners," which was made possible by the rise of the European bourgeoisie and capitalist democracy.

Mr. Hughes then goes on to quote Hilton Kramer, in an interview from the TV series based on the book, who debunks the myth of avant-garde artists as "permanent cultural guerrillas making their forays into middle-class strongholds" and points out that the avant-garde and the middle classes actually have functioned more as a family, with the inevitable generational conflicts family life entails. What has changed is the rate at which this art has become accepted by the establishment, to the point where, about twenty years ago, the gap disappeared entirely, and the middle classes so embraced the avant-garde that, in Mr. Hughes's words, "the newness of a work of art was one of the conditions of its acceptability."

The occasion for Mr. Bernstein's lucubrations was the opening of the annual Next Wave Festival at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, which in its eight years of existence has become the premier showcase for experimental performing art. With its opening-night gala, duly covered in the society columns; with its lavish souvenir program book, printed on coated stock and brimming with advertisements from such purveyors of luxe goods and blue-chip services as Giorgio Armani and AT&T, and the name of its principal sponsor, Philip Morris, writ large on the cover, so that an unsuspecting reader might mistake it for a trendily designed annual report; with, indeed, the lead article in the Sunday *Times* arts section—even the festival's administrators are forced to acknowledge that they have become part of the establishment, though the new director, Liz Thompson, distances herself from the E-word in her statement of purpose by placing it within ironic quotation marks.

As Mr. Bernstein suspected, there is indeed hypocrisy at work here, but it does not lie in the relationship between the avant-garde and the establishment; it lies within the avant-garde establishment itself. If one takes as the Next Wave Festival's primary and essential task the very pres-

*Miss Resnikova writes on theater for* NR *and reviews dance for* The New Criterion.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entation of avant-garde performing art, then its cancellation of the festival's opening event, Martha Clarke's *Endangered Species*, after only two weeks of its scheduled five-week run, amounts to a shameful betrayal more damaging to the cause than any inflicted from without.

The cancellation is especially significant in light of Miss Clarke's status as one of the most firmly established members of the theatrical avant-garde. The recipient of numerous grants for individual projects (*Endangered Species* alone acknowledges support from, among many others, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, and the National Endowment for the Arts), she was recently awarded a MacArthur fellowship. Her earlier pieces—*The Garden of Earthly Delights, The Hunger Artists, Vienna: Lusthaus*, and *Miracolo d'Amore*—were widely praised in the mainstream press and have toured extensively in the U.S. and Europe.

It is true that *Endangered Species* was not one of Miss Clarke's best efforts. As ever, she showed herself to be a master at creating arresting images that follow one upon the other with a dreamlike logic and fluidity. The production values were typically impressive, and the performances committed and skillful (apart from some clumsy recitation of the Walt Whitman poems that make up its text). If anything, the piece was overrefined—partly the result of Miss Clarke's method, in which she worries over every detail for months on end; partly the inability of roughly a third of the cast—trained animals, including an elephant—to adjust to any variation in routine, which lent the show a certain rigidity and lack of spontaneity. Intellectually, however, *Endangered Species*, with its vague implications of endangerment to blacks, women, and Jews, was an insubstantial pageant that melted into thin air.

Nevertheless, it did not deserve so ignominious a demise. And it is indeed dead: this type of theatrical spectacle does not exist apart from its performance, so for all intents and purposes *Endangered Species* (ironic title!) no longer exists. And it is highly doubtful that a piece this difficult to cast and stage will ever be seen again. Those so quick to raise the specter of censorship from without have effectively censored from within, and for the crassest of reasons: filthy lucre.

The cancellation was, needless to say, in response to less-than-rave reviews and lagging ticket sales. In other words, the festival management acted as would any Broadway producer—worse, actually, since there are plenty of commercial producers who would have had more heart and faith than to give the hook so early to a show from an artist who had so distinguished herself in the past. In fact, in similar situations many Broadway producers have committed further dollars to advertise and promote an offbeat show in which they truly believed, rather than once again simply confirming the power of the critics to determine what shall and shall not be seen upon the New York stage. In light of the cancellation of *Endangered Species*, the words the Next Wave Festival has chosen to emblazon on the title page of the program book—"TRUTH PASSION FAITH SURVIVAL"—have a particularly hollow ring. □

## MUSIC

# Hail, César

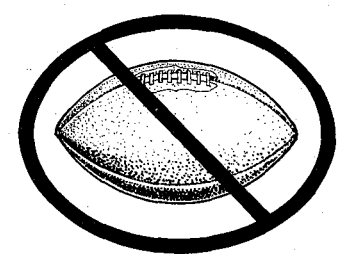
R. J. STOVE

ON THE night of October 12, Liège, Belgium, exploded into what looked like about twenty fairgrounds at once: one would have to be a combination of Swinburne and Hieronymus Bosch to conjure up the resultant *son et lumière* of bacchic dementia. Liège is normally a somewhat dour place, a steel-producing and (formerly) coal-mining city whose backstreets remain crammed with the sort of shabby apartment-blocks where the panic-stricken anti-heroes created by Georges Simenon (a native son) regularly hanged themselves. But this particular night, all was jubilation: the *Gazette de Liège*, one of Europe's great newspapers, was celebrating its 150th birthday, while simultaneously at the Royal Conservatory the centenary of César Franck's death was being marked by a nationally televised performance (royalty present, black ties worn, your correspondent the sole imbecile clad in an ordinary suit) of Franck's oratorio *The Beatitudes*.

Franck was Belgium's greatest composer: born at Liège, with a sense of appropriate career timing that he never displayed again, on the very day Beethoven finished his *Missa Solemnis* (December 10, 1822). He studied at the Royal Conservatory until 1835, when with his family he moved to France. Once enrolled at the Paris Conservatoire he proceeded to show that in a century of sight-reading freaks, he himself was a sight-reading superfreak. At age 15, during his final piano exam, he sight-read the passage he was given with complete accuracy: but he insisted on transposing it down a third. Though that whim cost him the first prize, Franck did receive (uniquely among conservatory

*Mr. Stove's articles on music and literature have appeared in* The American Spectator, *the Australian journal* Quadrant, *and various Australian national newspapers.*


**DARE WE SAY IT?**



For information or to arrange a visit,
CALL TOLL FREE: 1-800-634-9797.
From Canada, call collect: 805/525-4417.

Or write: Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions
Box 105
**THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE**
10000 North Ojai Road
Santa Paula, CA 93060




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Subscription Service

**TO SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW:**

☐ New subscription
☐ Renewal

1 year $74.00
(U.S. funds)

☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me

*Initial here* _____

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND RENEWAL:**

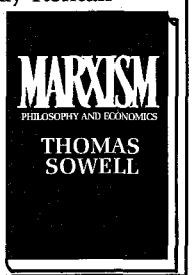
Please attach the mailing label from the front cover when writing about service or change of address. Allow 3 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

**MAIL TO:** National Review, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471.

BOOKS ON CASSETTES

- The Conservative Classics
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase & 30 Day Rentals
- Books by Buckley, Gilder, Sowell, Muggeridge, Paul Johnson, Friedman, Hayek, Tocqueville, Kirk, Mises, Podhoretz, Kistol, Neuhaus, Rusher, Twain, & scores of others.




CLASSICS ON TAPE
P.O. Box 969, Ashland, OR 97520

- For Free Catalog, Call

1 (800) 729-2665

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Serving Lunch & Dinner
A Perfect Place for Parties
207 East 34th Street, New York
(212) 889-3239


students) a *Grand Prix d'Honneur*. Three years later he underwent his final organ-improvisation exam: infuriating his examiners by commingling —and making a perfectly consonant piece from—two proffered themes, although the examiners' idea was that he should improvise on each theme separately. When Franck managed to surpass even this display of hubris by dedicating his Opus 1 to Belgium's king, his father withdrew him from the conservatory altogether. The paternal hope was that César should become a peripatetic piano virtuoso; for all his executant skill, he never did, and never wanted to.

We can shamelessly condense the next thirty-odd years (1842–71) of Franck's life, a tale of drudgery and underachievement on an awesome scale. He scraped along as an organist, mostly at the Parisian church of Sainte-Clothilde: where in fact he often played for the rest of his life. Liszt once heard him perform there, and was stupefied with admiration, comparing Franck's organistic prowess to Bach's. In 1848, Franck acquired a wife in the same fashion Macaulay alleged that Britain acquired its empire: in a fit of absent-mindedness. He continued to compose, mostly liturgical music and secular songs; but these items—while already suggesting the distinctive ardent, long-breathed, hyperchromatic, rhythmically swaying style that would subsequently be a Franck patent—were few in number, limited in importance, and nonexistent in public impact. Unsurprisingly he suffered, during the early 1850s, a nervous breakdown: from which only the recrudescence of his serene, uncomplicated Catholic faith eventually rescued him. ("Serene" is hardly an adequte adjective for the Franck of later years. At his most abstracted, which he nearly always was, he made Father Brown look like a yuppie.)

Around 1871, by a process that no one has explained—the Franco-Prussian War? Intimations of mortality? Steroids?—Franck suddenly effected a miracle of belated compositional flourishing. His earliest fully mature piece (1871–72) was called, fittingly, *Redemption*. Also in 1872, he beguiled his way into the hearts of parishioners throughout the world with his motet *Panis Angelicus*. At last he obtained some official acknowledgment, accepting (and being required to renounce Belgian citizenship for) the professorship of organ at the very institution he had had to leave in 1842: the Paris Conservatory. Remarkable symphonic poems poured forth, including one (*The Djinns*) with a quasi-continuo piano role that adumbrates much twentieth-century musical thinking. The darkly splendid *Piano Quartet* dates from 1879; after its premier the pianist (Saint-Saëns) ostentatiously left his copy sitting on his instrument's music-stand, so much did he resent Franck. A feat of unsurpassed lyricism, the *Violin Sonata* received its initial rendition at night in a museum where all artificial lighting was forbidden. Franck's slightly earlier and equally delightful *Symphonic Variations* were ludicrously under-rehearsed: in concert they came to a shuddering halt well before their intended ending. A Franck first performance, then, was not for the faint-hearted.

As for Franck's D-minor symphony, the conservatory's orchestra hated his writing enough to make it a total mess: Charles Gounod dubbed the music (not, he made clear, the playing) "an affirmation of incompetence carried to the length of a dogma." The final brick in this creative *arc de triomphe* was set in place when, in 1890, Franck—temperamentally incapable of looking both ways before he crossed a street—was knocked down by a typically homicidal Paris bus. He could scarcely bother to notice his own dreadful injuries; everyone around him did, however, and from those injuries—on November 8—he died.

For most of the intervening hundred years, at least in Anglophone countries, expressing admiration for César Franck has been like expressing admiration for the pre-Raphaelites: a thing never to be attempted in fashionable circles by anyone of less than Schwarzeneggeresque physique. (Constant Lambert, Britain's leading pre-war music critic and a man of unusual acuteness overall, nonetheless dismissed Franck's symphony as "a musical Minotaur which fortunately has had no progeny.") Yet over the last decade, the standard *bien-pensant* denunciations of "Victoriana" having died down from their erstwhile eardrum-splitting decibel level to no more

*(Continues on page 60)*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

## Coins

JFK BRILLIANT UNCIRCULATED 1964 half dollar, 90% silver. $7. Countryside Coins, P. O. Box 165, New Market, Minn. 55054.

## Gourmet

COFFEE is a blender's art. Our ultimate! Two full pounds, $13.95. Arabica choice-blends. Specify grind; enclose check. D'Amico's, 309 Court, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11231.

## Real Estate

FLYFISHING PARADISE. Private 2-bedroom, 2-bath house on the legendary upper Beaverkill. 13 acres with 400′ river frontage at the famous Craigie Clair pools. 2½ hours from New York. Ideal for weekends. Cross-country skiing in winter. $245,000. Call Rob Eggleton, 607-498-5222.

## Employment Opportunities

EDITORIAL WRITER daily newspaper, P. O. Box 2090, Waterbury, Conn. 06722, Attention: W. Southerland.

SECRETARIES NEEDED for conservative offices in Washington. Many opportunities available. Entry level to highly experienced. Send résumé. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151, 703-321-8580.

*NATIONAL REVIEW* seeks secretary(ies) for editorial department—full- or part-time. Duties include manuscript typing, correspondence, and organizing the editors. Ability to read impossible handwriting a must. Call Mary Edson, 212-679-7330, to arrange interview.

## Personal

FRIEND SEEKS friend. P. O. Box 280, Orangevale, Calif. 95662-0280.

NH-BORN SENSIBILITIES INSIDE, NYC author/actress outside, seeks older (40+), taller (6′), smarter (?) man for Christmas. NR Box 2018.

SCANDINAVIA–POLAND–RUSSIA, etc.: Worldwide link between unattached professionals. Scanna International. P. O. Box 4-NR. Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 716-586-3170.

SHALOM SINGLES connects Jewish singles interested in the arts, sports, travel, books, public affairs, etc. Nationwide. Box 1827, Germantown, Md. 20875. 800-695-SHALOM.

SWEDISH, EUROPEAN LADIES—freedom lovers—coming to U.S.A., desire your friendship. Call Britt, 900-234-6600 ($2/minute). Free photos with call.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! InterPacific, Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for cultured singles of all ages. Established 1970. Nationwide. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 215-358-5049.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

## Financial

CAR PAPER, serviced, guaranteed, discounted, yields 20% $8,000/$80,000, 800-869-0661.

LET THE GOVERNMENT finance your small business. Grants/loans to $500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270 (KH7).

## Literary

*THE SENSIBLE Person's Guide to Life*, by F. Stark, Columbia U., analyst. Religion, government, social issues, economics, personal life, life after death, women under Hinduism and Islam, radical churches, excessive powers of Presidents, Supreme Court coddling of criminals, gun control, psychology's defects, ancient Egyptians' race, intelligence of races, homosexuality, prostitution, abortion, homelessness, kidney transplants, euthanasia, socialism's failure, honor, many more. $10 plus 50 cents tax. 3804 Collier Road, Randallstown, Md. 21133.

*THE PROFESSIONAL Oppression of America*, a new book. Information: P. O. Box 1956, Beaufort, S.C. 29901.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRL, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

TIRED OF T. S. ELIOT? Try *The Woodpecker Knocking*, poetry book, $5, from Walter Springer, 6729 Manor Crest, Oakland, Calif. 94618-1933.

*SEASONS*. Quarterly newsletter for busy people who entertain at home. Menus, recipes, wines, style, talk. $10 annually—$3 single issue. DNR, Box 375, Old Westbury, N.Y. 11568.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P. O. Box 1178NR, Culpepper, Va. 22701-6324.

## Educational Opportunities

EXPAND YOUR EDUCATION with a public-policy internship in Washington this spring. Conservative offices want you. Send résumé. Leadership Institute Job and Talent Bank, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 703-321-8580.

WHAT YOU should know about "University Degree by Mail" programs. (Over 140 colleges involved.) Free revealing facts! Write: Kensam, Box 1383-NRJ, Far Rockaway, N.Y. 11691.

BECOME A PARALEGAL. Work with attorneys. Lawyer-instructed home study. America's finest paralegal program. Free catalogue, 800-223-4542, Dept. LP173.

*(Continues on page 60)*

### Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

**CHARLES MURRAY:**

*The Welfare Mess*

(S)ocial programs in a democratic society tend to produce net harm in dealing with the most difficult problems. They will inherently tend to have enough of an inducement to produce bad behavior and not enough of a solution to stimulate good behavior . . .

**WISDOM OF THE AGES**

First electronic book to give PC users easy access to timeless knowledge from over 1,000 great minds-**Eastern & Western.** Focuses 6561 sparkling quotes, sayings & ideas-some quite rare-in many ways. Helps users act, write & speak better; learn more in less time.

*Only $79.00 - 30 day money back guarantee.*

**MCR Agency, Inc.**
6116 Merced Ave. #81N
Oakland, CA 94611

**1-800-767-6797**
9am to 7pm PST
Fax 415-444-6561

## CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

**Rates:** $3.00 per word with 10-word minimum. Phone number, zip code, and all permitted abbreviations count as one word. Permitted abbreviations include titles (M.D., Ph.D.), organization names (IBM, USMC), state and country names (N.Y., U.S.), and miscellaneous items such as A.P.O., RR, S.A.S.E., P. O. Box.

**Special Rates:** $2.75 per word per insertion for 4 insertions; $2.50 per word per insertion for 6 insertions; $2.25 per word per insertion for 8 or more insertions.

**NR Box Numbers:** Available for an additional $10. Include "NR Box ____" in text of ad (three words). Responses will be forwarded. Address responses c/o Dorian Robbins, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

**New Service:** We will accept display ads in the Classified Section. The rates are as follows: 1 column inch: $125; 2 column inches: $250; 3 column inches: $350. Camera-ready art must be provided.

**Restrictions:** NR does not accept political advertisements.

**To Order:** Full payment in advance is required, by either check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa. Include expiration date with credit-card orders. No telephone orders. Address: Dorian Robbins, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIEDS

## Educational Opportunities

(Continued from page 59)

SPEAK SPANISH, FRENCH, or any of 59 languages as diplomats do, using same U.S. State Department easy self-study cassettes/textbook. Up to 50% savings! Call for free catalogue, Audio Language Institute, 800-722-6394.

SABBATICAL IN DENVER studying for a career in the exciting field of law. Become a paralegal at the Denver Paralegal Institute, an ABA-approved program since 1978. The curriculum is presented by practicing lawyers and other qualified professionals. Five- to 18-month programs; financial assistance available to those who qualify; free proven placement service; free housing assistance. Call 800-848-0550 or 303-295-0550 for free video.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES by mail. Accredited. Free revealing facts. Thorson-NR4, Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

## Audio

LISTEN TO the great thinkers of our times—J. Kirkpatrick, Milton Friedman, et al. Send $3 (postage/handling) for sample. Audio View, P. O. Box 6, Springfield, Va. 22150.

## For Sale

BUMPER STICKERS. "Burn Commies not Old Glory," "I Love animals, they're delicious." $2 each. Checks. ForthRight Communications, P. O. Box 3771, Merrifield, Va. 22116.

*NATIONAL REVIEW*'s new canvas tote bag on sale now. Tote around town with *National Review*'s lightweight canvas bag. Great for books. Be identified with *NATIONAL REVIEW* "For All the Right Reasons." Send $9.95 plus $2.00 (Postage/handling) to *National Review,* Dept. C/Tote, 150 E. 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

RARE is the physical contest in which girls and boys can compete as equals, and novices can even beat experts. TUG™ is exactly that. It is based on an ancient Asian game of balance that has been modernized with colorful nylon rope and sturdy, comfortable, design-patented handles. TUG™ can be learned in seconds and will be enjoyed by children and adults for a lifetime. $16 check or money order covers speedy, first-class handling, sales tax. Send to: Dynathrow, 1459 18th Street, Suite 144, San Francisco, Calif. 94107. Your complete satisfaction is guaranteed. Add $3 for gift tin.

HISTORICAL REVIEW. Publishers of obscure historical documents. Featuring a portfolio of 8 collectibles with beautifully crafted color prints. Package includes George Washington's "First Thanksgiving Proclamation," Abraham Lincoln's "10 Can Nots," "The Price They Paid," unedited "Star-Spangled Banner," and others. Send $29.95 check/m.o. to: Lost & Found Ent., P. O. Box 33295, Minneapolis, Minn. 55433. 612-757-0434.

U.S. FLAGS—EMBROIDERED stars, sewn stripes, heavy outdoor nylon. 3′ × 5′ regularly $30.90, *National Review* special $20. Other sizes available. 800-441-FLAG.

MILITARY FLAGS—Show your support to all our armed forces. 2′ × 3′ and 3′ × 5′ nylon outdoor. Prices vary. 800-441-3524.

A GREAT GIFT IDEA—The *National Review* 1991 Calendar with 13 original Jeff MacNelly cartoons. This full-size (10″ × 12″) calendar is done in four color on coated stock with enough space to jot down appointments and special events. Enjoy the humor of the foremost political cartoonist of our time, all year long. Just send a check for $13.95 plus $1.50 for postage and handling to: *National Review* Calendar, Dept. CL, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

SEIZED CARS, trucks, boats, 4-wheelers, motorhomes, by FBI, IRS, DEA. Available your area now. Call 805-682-7555, ext. C2552.

THE ORIGINAL ADAM SMITH necktie, $22.50, postage paid. Visa/MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, P. O. Box 277, North Adams, Mich. 49262. 517-287-5888.

*THE SOUTHERN FARMER'S ALMANAC.* Carrying on the Southern tradition. Read about the increase in hurricanes to come, the 1991 solar eclipse, how to make folk toys, Mrs. Robert E. Lee's original recipes. Plus astronomical tables, tide charts, household lore, and best fishing days. Scientific weather forecasts for the entire year. 160 pages in all. For a copy of the 1991 edition send $2.95, plus $1.25 for postage and handling, to: *The Southern Farmer's Almanac,* P. O. Box 27566, Dept. NR, Richmond, Va. 23261-7566.

## Business Opportunities

SAN ANTONIO—An elegant inn—Complimentary: airport pickup, late-model automobile, breakfast, cocktail hour. $69/night; Sunday–Thursday, 512-733-1998.

## Investment Opportunities

REPOSSESSED VA & HUD homes available from government from $1 without credit check. Your repair. Also S&L bailout properties. Call 805-682-7555, ext. H-3068, for repo list your area.

## Miscellaneous

INVENTIONS, IDEAS, new products! Presentation to industry. National exposition. 800-288-IDEA.

**In Celebration of NR's 35th Anniversary You Are Cordially Invited To Take Advantage Of Our Special Classified Advertising Anniversary Offer**

Run your ad for the full year (that's 25 Issues of *National Review* starting with the January 28 Issue) and pay $2.00 per word. With our circulation the highest it's ever been, there couldn't be a better time to advertise!

To be eligible for this special discount, all insertion orders must be pre-paid. Closing date is January 2. Any ads that are currently scheduled to run in 1991 will be credited to the following year.

**Contact:** Dorian Robbins, Classified Advertising, *National Review,* 150 East 35th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10016, for more details.

PREDICT HUMAN BEHAVIOR? "Futures Barometer" newsletter explains long-term trends in global economics and politics. Opinionated, provocative. Free sample issue: Box 1020N, Canmore, AB TOL OMO Canada (U.S., 30 cents postage) 403-678-6517.

PRE-READ *National Reviews*: Thanks from the Muri's and all who may have the chance to enjoy and intellectually grow from the *NR*'s sent to us by many. The response was outstanding, however, no more are needed as of now.

ACROSTICIANS CLUB. Free "Acrostics Network," details, puzzles. Mock, 1030-A Delaware, Berkeley, Calif. 94710.

## STOVE

(Continued from page 58)

than the occasional bloodcurdling squawk, Franck has started creeping into favor. His collected songs and orchestral compositions have just been released on commercial CDs by, respectively, the Belgian labels Disques Duchesne and Ricercar. Half-a-dozen organists have already recorded centennial surveys of Franck's large organ output. The artistic character traits of Franck that were once ritually scolded for their "mannerism" and "sentimentality" ("organ-stop orchestration" used to be a particularly beloved and meaningless anti-Franck mantra of textbook writers) increasingly emerge as valid and highly original reworkings of Romanticism's basic structures.

Still, as if to reassure us that *plus ça change*, the tradition of shambolic Franck performance (or, indeed, nonperformance) continues intact. The first in Liège's September–October recital series of Franck's organ *œuvre* was canceled without notice because, it later transpired, the scheduled organist had broken his arm. This writer's enquiries about and payment for the commemorative César Franck train were met (after two months) with a regretful letter from Liège's railway station claiming that the train had been canceled because of insufficient ticket sales. And the Franck statue which was to be unveiled (also in Liège) on November 8 of this year will not be unveiled after all: instead, lucky Liège will play host on that date to a Franck academic symposium. Anyhow: Hail, César, and perhaps your birth's bicentenary in 2022 will be celebrated in a slightly less erratic manner. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 H | 2 O | 3 A | | 4 K | 5 E | 6 L | 7 R | 8 X | | 9 B | 10 M | | 11 C | 12 J | 13 D | 14 P | 15 F | | 16 O | 17 E | 18 K | 19 I | 20 Y |
| 21 S | 22 A | 23 G | | 24 J | 25 C | | 26 N | 27 U | | 28 B | 29 F | 30 W | 31 R | 32 H | 33 L | 34 E | | 35 D | 36 O | 37 I | | 38 H | 39 M |
| 40 A | 41 C | 42 P | 43 Y | 44 B | | 45 D | 46 U | | 47 F | 48 O | 49 E | 50 A | 51 H | 52 K | 53 L | 54 P | 55 U | 56 X | | 57 R | 58 I | | 59 N |
| 60 T | 61 Q | | 62 J | 63 E | 64 K | | 65 V | 66 Y | 67 O | 68 F | 69 M | | 70 G | 71 P | | 72 W | 73 R | 74 D | 75 H | 76 B | 77 L | | 78 J |
| 79 Q | | 80 Y | 81 K | 82 X | 83 G | 84 R | 85 T | 86 J | 87 H | | 88 A | 89 I | 90 L | 91 S | | 92 P | 93 G | 94 M | 95 B | 96 W | 97 T | | 98 O |
| 99 G | 100A | 101H | 102L | 103U | 104X | 105J | | 106D | 107A | | 108N | 109C | 110B | 111Q | | 112O | 113S | | 114I | 115E | 116J | 117L | |
| 118C | 119F | 120H | | 121G | 122K | 123E | 124O | 125X | 126Q | 127W | | 128Y | 129B | 130I | | 131K | 132R | 133O | 134P | | 135V | 136U | 137A |
| 138C | 139R | 140N | | 141J | 142Q | | 143L | 144F | 145C | 146D | 147B | 148M | 149E | 150H | | 151P | 152Y | | 153W | | 154T | 155C | 156H |
| 157Y | 158S | | 159T | 160M | | 161U | 162A | 163O | 164R | 165X | 166D | 167G | | 168P | 169H | | 170O | 171I | 172X | | 173F | 174V | |
| 175L | 176H | 177E | 178G | 179K | 180W | 181J | 182S | 183M | 184T | 185I | | 186G | 187N | 188S | 189R | 190D | 191B | 192U | 193K | 194J | 195C | | |

## DEFINITIONS

A. Eye-opening kitchen vessel (2 words) — 22 88 137 107 162 3 50 40 100

B. A Nazi legacy — 129 191 95 9 28 110 147 44 76

C. Formless — 118 195 138 145 11 109 155 41 25

D. Inhuman competition for the UAW — 13 106 74 45 35 190 166 146

E. Boisterous one — 34 17 123 149 49 5 115 177 63

F. Ours is doing so-so, the USSR's is non-existent — 144 47 173 119 29 68 15

G. Lincoln's "hot" hat variety — 23 167 70 83 178 121 99 186 93

H. Rung on the education ladder — 156 101 169 120 150 51 38 75 32 1 87 176

I. Jet-fighter's last act? — 130 114 37 171 185 19 58 89

J. Demographer's data — 116 78 12 141 181 105 62 24 86 194

K. City where the Beatles got started — 179 193 131 64 122 4 52 81 18

L. Stand for — 90 143 175 117 33 53 6 102 77

M. Charitable gambling — 39 148 10 160 94 183 69

N. Electrical measures — 108 187 26 140 59

O. WFB's instrument — 36 170 67 16 163 112 98 2 48 133 124

P. Natural attraction — 168 71 92 151 42 54 14 134

Q. Silverheels role — 111 142 126 61 79

R. Translate — 84 7 57 132 189 164 139 73 31

S. Certain undercover police operations — 113 188 21 158 182 91

T. Minnow of note — 85 60 97 154 159 184

U. Attempts — 103 46 136 27 161 192 55

V. Newt — 135 174 65

W. One of the Hollywood seven — 72 153 180 127 96 30

X. Diplomatic understanding — 165 104 8 125 82 172 56

Y. Finds — 43 66 128 157 80 20 152

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 59 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Wartime?

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 31

Concerning the possibility of war in the Persian Gulf, a few observations:

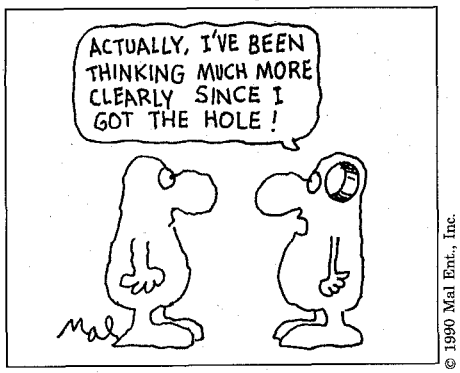
1. A mini-swell of resentment is audible on the matter of the composition of our military forces in Saudi Arabia. Way back in August, a Midwestern college professor expressed his resentment (in an op-ed article for the *New York Times*) at his son's being sent to Saudi Arabia. What was the young man doing in the Marines? Simple, said dad, he was quite innocently there in order to accumulate the points needed to get a free college education. Other people seem to have the same problem: it never occurs to them that the reason the U.S. spends $300 billion a year on defense is to train and equip young men, who for the past 17 years have all been volunteers, to fight, if required to do so.

And to fight means to run the risk of dying. It is infrequently that we encounter such a bloodbath as our Civil War. The statistics are not readily available, but it is likely that a thirty-year stint in the military, over the course of American history, hasn't required greater exposure to mayhem than the equivalent served as a firefighter or a policeman. The caterwauling of such as Mr. Charles Peters, the jolly grouch of *The Washington Monthly*, on the subject of the social and economic background of men who are serving in the armed forces is not really relevant. His complaint is that these are the sons of the poor, which may be the case, but does not justify the suggestion that decisions affecting the risk of combat will be made by men indifferent to their fate because they are themselves sons of power and affluence. A reader of Ronald Reagan's memoirs will know the agony he experienced when the 241 Marines were killed in Lebanon. The sons (and daughters) of influential Americans are regularly spotted trying to gain admission to West Point or Annapolis. The notion that the President or Congress is indifferent to the life & limb of our armed forces in virtue of having ascertained that they are substantially made up of children of the working class is bizarre as a generality, contemptible as a presumptive consideration of an American Commander-in-Chief contemplating the question of war or peace.

2. That a soldier must be prepared to risk his life is plain, but of course does not illuminate the question whether, in pursuit of this tactic or that strategy, the soldier is prudently deployed. In the Gulf crisis, Mr. Bush made a speedy decision, which is not necessarily the same thing as a hasty decision. He grasped the fundamental geopolitical threat posed by Iraq's aggression and resolved that it had to be opposed. That his judgment was politically correct was quickly confirmed by the virtual unanimity with which first the American public, and then the leaders of other nations, joined in acclaiming his initiative.

3. If Mr. Bush had struck Iraq on or about Labor Day, the probability is high that he'd have had the near-universal backing of the American people. The passage of time has substantially altered that. For one thing, the sixty days have passed after which the War Powers Act attempts to oblige the Commander-in-Chief to consult with Congress in any situation that might lead to military action. Having caught our fingers in the UN assembly line we are theoretically bound to move forward only in concert with it. This means that any one member of the Security Council thinks of himself as having a veto over United States military action. We have already been made aware by Gorbachev and Mitterrand that they are not disposed to press the military point.

4. The venture becomes preposterous if we do not have our way. I.e., if Iraq is left with Saddam Hussein plus nuclear reactors plus chemical/biological weapons. But to go forward without consulting Congress becomes an exercise in arbitrary executive power. If it happened that at midnight tonight our Peeping Tom satellites detected the arming of Iraqi missiles, Mr. Bush could legitimately exercise his authority to order an immediate strike. But if he hands to Hussein what is in effect an ultimatum—get out of Kuwait, make reparations, and prepare for an inspecting force to dismantle your strategic arsenal—he must have the consent of Congress. There are constitutional and political grounds for insisting on the point. □



© 1990 Mal Ent., Inc.

## Search For "Fairness"

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 26

Well, the tax package is now fixed, and when it passes, one hopes that Congressmen Panetta, Foley, Gephardt, and Rostenkowski will line up with Senators Kennedy and Mitchell to accept life peerages in the Fairness House of Lords.

Fairness is here defined as attempting to sink the national deficit by handing the bill to "the rich." Congress has managed to: 1) raise tax rates on taxable income above $80,000 per year from 28 to 31 per cent; 2) phase out personal exemptions for individuals with taxable income between $100,000 and $200,000; 3) maintain capital gains at the 28 per cent rate; 4) raise Medicare payments for everyone earning $51,300 or more; 5) reduce itemized deductions for everyone earning a gross income over $100,000; and 6) impose a surtax on "luxury" items, from jewelry to airplane travel. The only untargeted increase is in the tax on gasoline, which will go up 5 cents per gallon. All of this now defines the Democrats' Fairness Doctrine. Projected income from these measures combined with contemplated savings of $40 billion in the first year, and $140 billion over the next four years, is summed up as a $500-billion net march toward budget solvency. To be sure, projections of this nature can't be satisfactorily documented because they are based on what the economists call "static analysis." That is to say, they presuppose that the targeted taxpayers will continue to expose their income to the tax collector without complaint. No such projection of revenues has ever been accurate in a society in which people are free to rear-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

range their economic lifestyles, which means everything from using less gasoline, to allocating more income to tax-exempt investments, reducing tax-deductible expenditures, retiring earlier, perhaps to take courses in fairness, and retiring to monasteries to search out that illumination that governs our governors. Moreover, the projections assume an annual increase in the gross national revenue of 3.9 per cent and the price of oil descending to $24.

The 1986 tax law, which is now publicly branded as the height of American Unfairness, got affirmative votes from Senators Kennedy and Mitchell, as also from Congressmen Panetta, Gephardt, Foley, and Rostenkowski. It was a bill that Mr. Rostenkowski fought for vigorously. Why? Because, as he then put it, it was "fair." What we need, said Mr. Rostenkowski in May 1985, is "fair treatment for all." In 1986 he fought for the bill in the House, predicting the key vote would carry by "thirty, forty, or fifty votes." It carried by 108 votes. In February of this year, Mr. Rostenkowski said about the 1986 law, "I married the Tax Reform Act in 1986. Tinkering with the tax code is the worst thing we can do." But now he is gloating over his infidelities. Eight months after replighting his troth to the 1986 code he was suddenly saying quite unpleasant things about his bride. He wanted to "restore fairness to our tax system," raising of course the question why he had in the first place fought so lustily for his bride.

In the course of attempting to dam the torrent of demagogy on the question of Fairness, some Republicans raised utilitarian arguments. We heard speeches about the dampening effects on investment and risk by Americans who were overtaxed. These arguments are soundly based on past experience, probably the best example of which is the quintupling of revenues from capital gains within a couple of years after Rostenkowski (yes, the same lover) in 1978 led the fight to reduce capital gains. At the utilitarian level, Republicans failed to dramatize the very limited reserves of Americans who make over $200,000 per year. As previously noted in this space, double the tax on the affluent gentry and money is raised to pay for government for 13 days per year. That leaves about fifty weeks of deficits that have to be paid by the middle class, because that's where the bulk of the money is; it can't be paid by the lower class because there is none there. "The tax on capital gains directly affects investment decisions, the mobility and flow of risk capital from static to more dynamic situations, the ease or difficulty experienced by new ventures in obtaining capital, and thereby the strength and potential for growth of the economy." Who said that, Newt Gingrich? No, JFK. What was the capital-gains tax when he said it? Twenty-five per cent. He wished to reduce it to 19.5 per cent. If JFK had lived, he'd be a Boll Weevil. □

## *Would Wealthy Youth Serve?*

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 5

At different forums lately, substantial figures have questioned whether America's young "elite," here understood as 18-year-olds who are bright and offsprings of wealthy parents, would consent to enroll in national service. Robert MacNeil made the point on the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* when he asked what made me think that such young people would participate. Wasn't it likelier that "as in the Vietnam years" they would simply shirk their duty?

About this assumption several things need to be said:

1. Not all bright and affluent students tend to shirk duty and sacrifice. The Vietnam avoidance was not characteristic. Very few Americans wanted to go to Vietnam. For one thing, their teachers were very nearly united in insisting that far from being idealistic, the Vietnam War was cruel and chauvinistic. It became clearer and clearer after we saw what happened to Indochina in the wake of our withdrawal that in this century there has not been a more idealistic military venture, and recent congregations of veterans are making this point, as they profess pride for what they did.

But the affluent young were not tuned into the idealistic aspect of the Vietnam enterprise. It was always an ugly war. And—perhaps the critical question in the moral reasoning of those young men who shirked the call of duty—there was a national ambivalence toward the war, especially after the Tet offensive, which left them wondering whether it would evolve into a genuine national enterprise. They were correct, those of them that concluded that it would not. It was LBJ who refused to send more men to the front, and when Richard Nixon took over, the long countdown had begun. Whether, but for the complications of Watergate, he and Henry Kissinger might have pulled it off we can't know. But for most young men another year or two in school was the obvious alternative to traveling to Vietnam as a doughboy. But they did not, in my judgment, betray a class weakness in doing so.

2. The young men and women of the country-club set are not, in my experience, born hedonists. It is easy to find examples of the 18-year-old who treats college as an *Animal House* experience, but they are a very small minority. What you do find among them is a hard trace of ambition. But it is an ambition that is satisfied variously. The orthodox way to satisfy that impulse is to become rich & powerful. But these young people also strive for other satisfactions, and one of these is—to serve. The 18-year-old who has never had to work or to worry about tuition payments, who has traveled to Europe, is keenly aware of the social question in America. Many of these young people fling themselves into statist causes, or worship at the shrine of the nearest ideological icon. But this is evidence of idealistic energy combined with inexperienced thinking. The late Allard Lowenstein was always surrounded by young men and women, attracted to his (in some ways undifferentiated) general idealism. These young people would not look on a year's national service as something to be avoided.

3. A tough-minded program of national service should not hesitate to see the states and the Federal Government use inducements. I have written that the severest inducement is the threat of withholding a driver's license, which is the young man's dearest privilege of freedom—in exchange for which he would fight anybody, any time. It may be that such a sanction would be too severe, addressed at those who declined to serve. But if we are going to be serious about national service, we have got to be serious about launching it in such a way as to strengthen the probability of its taking hold on its own merits. A conclusive way of taking care of Mr. MacNeil's bright & affluent young is for the admissions offices of the sexy campuses to say very simply: Do not apply for admission until you have given a year of national service. We are interested in bright freshmen, but also in men and women of character, and we believe that a year of national service is indispensable evidence that you have such a character.

4. And here a special mobility is given to the privileged young. There is no residual problem for them in postponing by one year the time when they begin to earn an income. My guess is that were the national-service program seriously launched, these are the young who would lead the idealistic enterprise. □

*(Universal Press Syndicate)*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# OFF THE RECORD

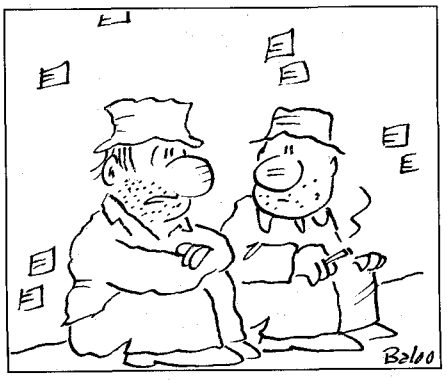
**President E-Lech.** In anticipation of Poland's November 25 presidential election, two supporters of former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa visited Washington to let folks know what's going on in Warsaw. Ever since the fall of the Communists, there has been a growing rift between Mr. Walesa and Adam Michnik, another Polish hero who edits Solidarity's main daily, *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Of late, Mr. Michnik has gone to most of the established liberal American organs to complain that the new threat to Poland is a Catholic Church that wants religion in the schools and abortion outlawed, hinting along the way that Mr. Walesa is a throwback to provincial Poland and anti-Semitism.

Not true, said Zdzislaw Najder, at a meeting at the National Forum Foundation on Capitol Hill. Mr. Najder, chairman of the Civic Committee and a distingued professor of literature, noted how telling it was that such assertions were always made abroad and not at home—where they could be refuted more easily. At least to Cato's ears, he sounded considerably less provincial than Mr. Michnik, who has argued for a Poland more in line with Sweden than one designed by economist Milton Friedman. Indeed, the hot argument in Poland now is whether German investment is the Trojan Horse for a reconquest of Poland. Mr. Najder's response? "The major problem with Germans coming to invest is that they haven't been coming." Milton Friedman couldn't have said it any better.

**Why George Can't Read.** When the Excellence in Education Act was first drafted, it was the President's effort to inject some badly needed reforms into the education establishment. But by the end of the last session of Congress, the Democrats had gutted it. They made its centerpiece a $25-million grant to the Carnegie Endowment's liberal-dominated Board of Professional Teaching Standards, which is seeking money for a study that many believe will promote teacher licensing, increased union control of education, and elimination of teacher-evaluation tests—not to mention attack the notion of parental choice.

Nevertheless, the Bush Administration craved an education bill, not least because it retained funding for literacy programs, First Lady Barbara Bush's pet project. Thus the President's domestic-affairs advisor, Roger Porter, pulled out all stops, even going so far as to call Senate Republicans who were opposing the measure to tell them (falsely) that they were alone. The plan backfired and the bill died on the evening of Congress's last day in session. But Cato hears that at 2 A.M., just minutes before final adjournment, the White House was still trying to get the bill pushed through. It seems that the education President will never learn.

**Prize Mistake.** AFL–CIO chief Lane Kirkland was the host for a reception for Nadia Diuk and Adrian Karatnycky's splendid new book, *The Hidden Nations: The People Challenge the Soviet Union*, and Cato caught up with him for a few moments at the union's headquarter's. Throughout the Eighties, America's top union leader was Solidarity's number-one supporter, arousing the ire not only of the Polish Communist government but of European trade unionists such as British miners' leader Arthur Scargill. Asked what he thought of Gorbachev's winning the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr. Kirkland replied, "he is about as worthy a recipient as Le Duc Tho"—a reference to the Vietnamese Communist leader who shared the 1973 prize with Henry Kissinger and then went on to direct the campaign that led to the fall of Saigon. Fortunately, Gorbachev's campaign seems likely to lead to the fall of Moscow.




*"I bought low and sold high, and then I payed taxes!"*

**Operation Clean Sweep.** National Taxpayer Action Day—sponsored by Citizens Against Government Waste, Americans for Tax Reform, etc.—came off without a hitch in more than two hundred cities around the country. The group reports that Representative Chalmers Wylie (R., Ohio) got wind of a protest in his own town of Columbus and called to complain, citing the perfect rating CAGW had given him on spending. In any case, the congressman was told that the protest was not directed against him. Thus assured, Congressman Wylie, an old Bush crony, promptly voted for the President's tax agreement.

**Just Say No.** For some time now Senator Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) has had a reputation of undermining conservative initiatives, which some have attributed to the senator's desire for a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. Departing Senator Gordon Humphrey (R., N.H.) is among those who have suffered from Mr. Hatch's wheeling and dealing. And so in the waning hours of the 101st Congress, as the Senate was debating an education bill, when Senator Hatch asked for thirty seconds to speak, the honorable gentleman from New Hampshire denied him the floor. Touché.

**Bigger, Emptier Tent.** Among GOP operatives the scuttlebutt is that the ailing chief of the Republican National Committee, Lee Atwater, will soon be replaced. His successor? Not conservative Charles Black, now acting chief, but one of the Republican Party's unsuccessful senate candidates. Right now the most mentioned name is Lynn Martin, the moderate, anti-tax but pro-choice representative who was trounced by Senator Paul Simon (D., Ill.) on election day. The Big Tent gets bigger, but the party gets smaller.

—CATO



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# "Our boss won't be happy until he's on everyone's back."

*Sales Department*
*Milliken & Company*

When you believe your company makes the very best athletic uniform fabric that money can buy, you get a little excited about it all. At least that's how our boss feels.

He wants everyone wearing Visa.® The choice of champions.

You see, it's not enough for people to know that their uniforms are built to last. Game after game. Or that the colors stay as bright as the first day they put them on.

They should know that Visa®products have been designed to keep their shape. Release stains and odors. And that they "wick" moisture to the surface for rapid evaporation. All of which makes Visa® more comfortable, and the better choice. They should know to ask for Visa® by name.

Every season millions of uniforms made from Visa® fabrics hit the playing field. And every season they perform like champions.

So you can see why our boss gets a little excited when you're talking about Visa.® He has a good reason to.

If you'd like to get in on the excitement, call us.
1-803-573-2385.

MILLIKEN

© 1990 Milliken
*VISA is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics. *Dacron is a DuPont Registered Trademark.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REMY MARTIN est l'eau de vie

COGNAC XO SPECIAL
EXCLUSIVEMENT FINE CHAMPAGNE COGNAC
DEPUIS 1724

REMY MARTIN® COGNAC. SOLE USA DISTRIBUTOR: PREMIERE WINE MERCHANTS, INC., N.Y., N.Y.
40% ALC/VOL 80 PROOF. CENTAUR DESIGN® ©1990.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED